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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

ABRAAM AND COLUMBIA.

From The Boston Courier.

LANK Abraam lolled in his library chair,
Consulting "Joe Miller" and "Vanity Fair,"
When in swept Columbia, careworn and pale,
But dauntless and haughty 'mid Fortune's assail—
"Come, steward," she said, "now explain, if you can!
Why shan't I discharge you and try a new man?"

Then Abram the wily replied with a grin,
"A Dutchman once said, in the county of Quinn,
(The story is old, but in point, as I deem)
'Taint safe to swap hosses when crossing a stream."

"Cease, sirrah, your jesting! remember," she said,
"My fields with the blood of my yeomanry red!
The wail of the widow, the orphan's sad eye
Rebuke the rude trifling of lowly or high.
My children are warring along my green slopes—
I come for your counsels, your plans and your hopes."

Quoth Abraam, "Don't swap; for as sure as a gun,
This thing, it is certain, must never be done.
Your biler will bust if you bother the steam—
'Taint safe to swap hosses when crossing a stream."

"But, steward," she answered, "my debts are untold.
Account for my treasures of silver and gold!
Hard taxes are wrested from labor's brown hand,
Yet pledged is my income, and mortgaged my land.
Your squanderings waste what the plunderers miss;
Three years of your follies have brought me to this!"

And Abraam replied, as he straddled his chair,
"You know, my dear madam, I'm honest and square;
To shelve a tried President, don't ever dream—
'Taint safe to swap hosses when crossing a stream."

"You crouch to John Bull, for French despots hurrah,
You cringe to the Spaniard, and toady the Czar;
My shield cannot shelter a poor refugee;
My commerce is hunted all over the sea.
How fallen am I—the young Queen of the West,
Who walked among nations more proud than the best.

"'Tis true," said the steward, "I notice your fix;
But let the pot bile, and jest tote up the sticks.
Don't muddle the milk, if you hope to get cream;
'Taint safe to swap hosses when crossing a stream."

"Sir, since you persist in your quips and your cranks,
Where is Rosecrans, Cameron, Scott, and Nat Banks?
Pray, why do you 'swap,' if removal won't cure,
When Fremont was fast and McClellan was sure?"
And quelling her tears, she demanded reply,
With clouds on her brow and a flame in her eye.

"That 'minds me," said Abraam, "of old Deacon Bruce—
What's sass for the gander aint sass for the goose—
'Things aint at all times,' sez he, 'quite what they seem,'—
'Taint safe to swap hosses when crossing a stream."

"Enough!" cried Columbia, "my future I see—
Ruin, havoc and death in the homes of the free;
Fair Liberty stabbed by the lords of misrule,
While, thoughtless, she laughs at the freaks of their fool;
Thieves, clowns and usurpers in council preside,
And fraud, force and folly my destinies guide."

"I have it!" quoth Abraam, "as slick as a mice!
Squash Hamlin! and government's rid of its *vice;*
But don't you turn tail at a Copperhead scream—
'Taint safe to swap hosses when crossing a stream."

Columbia, disgusted, would listen no more,
But cried in a rage, as she stormed through the door—
"I have kept an old donkey for nearly four years,
Who brings me but scorn and disaster and tears!
I vow I will drive a respectable team,
Though forced to swap horses when crossing a stream!"

CORDUROY.

ANCIENT AND MODERN FANATICISM—ITS IDENTITY.

From The Journal of Commerce.

FANATICS are the same in all ages. They are men to whom their own conscience is the highest law. They are men of probity, and of the most exemplary moral character. They are men superior to the low notions of gain which animate the common herd. They are men of "good intentions." To these qualities they unite a fierce earnestness, and an indomitable perseverance which carry them on over mountains of dead bodies, and through seas of blood, to the goal of their fanatical desires. No price, in their opinion, is too great for success. Millions of human lives are to them as dust in the balance. There have been fanatics, and there are fanatics now living, who would cheerfully look on and see the whole population of the earth exterminated, with the exception of the few (no matter how few) who held to their doctrines. The perfect conscientiousness of fanaticism—the high and uncompromising standard of duty and morality which it sets up for itself—are the most terrible things in its composition.

Buckle, in his great work on civilization, gives some striking instances of the horrible evils inflicted upon the world by conscientious fanatics. It might be supposed, reasoning upon the subject theoretically, that those Roman emperors who were the most cruel and merciless persecutors of the early Christians, were men of dissolute and abandoned lives—heartless monsters who would order Christians to be butchered or delivered over to the wild beasts for the amusement of a brutal soldiery and populace. The historical facts are exactly the opposite of this. The two most besotted creatures that ever disgraced the throne of the Cæsars—Commodus and Heliogabalus—were not only tolerant but generous to the new religion. It was reserved for Marcus Aurelius—a man of the kindliest disposition and the purest morality, amounting even to ascetism—and for Julian, a prince of blameless life, in the opinion of his contemporaries—to carry on a crusade against the Christians, such as fiends from the bottomless pit might have shrunk from. Both of these emperors acted from notions of conscience and duty, and would have wiped out the whole Christian sect, if they could.

The same author refers to the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition, as another example of what a religious and moral fanaticism can do to transform this fair earth into a pandemonium of horror. It is the united testimony of all Spanish historians that the Inquisitors were men of the highest conscientiousness, and of undeviating and incorruptible integrity. Llorende, the historian of the Inquisition, while depicting its dreadful cruelties with an unsparing pen, does not insinuate a single charge against the moral character of the Inquisitors, but testifies to the purity of their intention. Townsend, in his valuable work on Spain, gives evidence to the same effect; and with reference to one of the most important branches of the Inquisition at Barcelona, says that the Inquisitors were men of worth, and most of them of distinguished humanity. And these men ordered the butchery, with every ingenious variation and refinement of cruelty, of thousands of Christians, and looked on with complacency while the poor creatures were writhing in the preliminary tortures of the question-room.

Another illustration of the same truth may be drawn from the master spirits of the French Revolution. Some of the blood-thirstiest of them were men of high and noble sentiments of honor and honesty, and of great amiability in private life. They were animated by no mere motive of revenge or of personal aggrandizement, but only by a desire to serve their country in the way which they conscientiously thought the best. History abounds in such examples, all showing the compatibility of the most sanguinary and relentless disposition with the most exalted morality and the best intentions in the world.

The radical movement of the present day in this country, so far as it is sincere, and honest, and supported by genuine religious and moral sentiments, is but another illustration of this truth. It is history repeating itself. The thorough-going and conscientious radical of this day never stops to inquire *where* his theory will bring him out. He does not care to know. The slaughter of every white man, woman, and child in the South—the literal extinction of the whole Southern race—would not disturb his equanimity in the least. He would hold the sacrifice cheap, so that his dogma of the absolute equality of the white man and the negro could be bolstered up by it (as it would not be). He would be willing to kill off three men at the North for one man at the South, until the South was entirely depopulated, rather than give up one jot of his fanatical opinions.

As a distinguished radical Senator is reported to have said, he would fight on until every man on both sides is killed, and then let the women take up the quarrel. The ferocious, sanguinary and uncompromising temper with which this class of radicals carry on the war, justifies the belief and the statement that, if they had the power in the North, they would hang, or imprison, or banish, every man who differed from them. And all this would be done on the part of the strictly conscientious but misguided portion of the radical party, in the full belief that religion, humanity, civilization and an enlightened patriotism required it at their hands. Is the picture over-colored? Again we say, let the history of fanaticism in all ages answer!

The consideration of what fanaticism has always done when it has had the power, and will always do, under the same conditions, should nerve every conservative man to one mighty effort to check its deadly growth, and so save the nation.

From The Hartford Times.

FOR SALE, the one half of a saw mill lying in the town of Rochester. And also, a stout, healthy, active NEGRO WENCH. Apply to John Schoonmaker, Jr., at Rochester.—*Kingston (N. Y.) Gazette, June* 4, 1800.

And negro men and women were then sold all over the Northern States; and there were slaves in Connecticut as late as 1848. Isn't it now pretty early for us up here to resolve that we are the saints, and that all slaveholders are the sinners? That we will whip and *subjugate* all slaveholders, take away their negroes, and occupy the plantations of the masters? That a slaveholder is a sinner, fit only for ——, whilst we (that is the "loyal") are all saints, fit for Heaven and happiness, and that slaveholders shall not sit at the same communion-table with us, nor live in the same Union? This is progression, on the part of a class who live upon money made from the slave trade, slave labor, rum, whiskey, the war, etc. Why don't the Lord answer, more speedily, the long prayers of all such loyal folk?

Selections.

OUR POSITION.

From The Liberator.

IN another column—with that cheerfulness and readiness which we have ever evinced toward those differing from us—we print a sharp and severe letter from a subscriber of thirty years' standing, who requests its publication in *The Liberator*, and also the immediate discontinuance of his paper for the reasons therein set forth. Of course, it is his right, as also that of every other subscriber, to stop his paper at any time, either with or without explanation of his motive for so doing; and it is not for us to complain, or to urge a reconsideration of his decision. Our estimable General Agent will testify, from an experience of eighteen years, that never has it been a matter of interest or inquiry to us to know whose name is or is not upon our subscription list. Scarcely any one knows less, by inspection, about that list than we do; for we have not for a very long period once given it an examination. This, it is true, is not an indication of business thrift, and in all probability cannot be paralleled; but it at least demonstrates that at no time have we shaped our course with reference to the circulation of our paper. We commenced *The Liberator* without a subscriber; we have never personally asked any one to take it; we have never, in all the anti-slavery speeches and addresses we have delivered, or the multitudinous anti-slavery gatherings attended, urged its support, or solicited any one to do so in our stead; and if, at last, every subscriber shall withdraw, the consciousness that we have ever faithfully tried to remember those in bonds as bound with them will make us as cheerful and elastic in spirit as though *The Liberator* had the largest circulation of any journal in the land. We espoused the anti-slavery cause not to be supported by it, not to find employment, but to lay upon its altar all of intellect, heart and soul—all of self-sacrifice and moral power—all of heroic purpose, zealous devotion, and a good example—that we could bring to it. Nor are we conscious of any internal change or external state of things to make us feel or act in any other spirit, or from any other motives, in the present than in the past.

This declaration is reluctantly wrung from us, because it is evident that there is a disposition, among a certain class, to discontinue their subscriptions in an embittered spirit and in a summary manner; indicating either a purpose to hold a rod *in terrorem* over us, or a desire to see *The Liberator* speedily suppressed. Even without their withdrawal—we will state for their satisfaction—this latter alternative is not an improbable event. Our circulation—always a limited one, because *The Liberator* was subjected to universal opprobrium from the start as the original transgressor—has had no increase since the rebellion broke out; while its expenses have been heavily augmented. For example—before the war, we paid from $3 50 to $3 75 per ream for the white paper upon which *The Liberator* was printed; now we are obliged to pay between nine and ten dollars per ream, with an upward tendency. This alone is a crushing difference; and it is experienced by every other journal, causing many a suspension, and making the continued existence of many more extremely problematical. But not to retain or secure a single patron, or to avoid the necessity of discontinuing *The Liberator*, shall we alter our course one hair's breadth.

The reasons given for stopping his paper by our long-adhering but now alienated Haverhill subscriber cannot properly be allowed to pass without animadversion; for they are accusations of a sweeping character, implying utter recreancy of principle and extreme baseness of conduct on our part! Coming from an avowed enemy, we should not bestow upon them a passing comment; but being preferred by one who has stood by us so many years, and who assumes to be "faithful among the faithless found," it is due to him and to ourself to look them directly in the face.

He says:

"I little thought that *you* would ever abandon the cause of the slave to his enemy; although it seems that you have, by electioneering for the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency."

Again:

"Those of us here, as far as I have learned, who are called Garrisonian Abolitionists, feel most deeply to lament your fall."

Again:

"Alas! in your zeal for '*honest*' *(?)* old Abe, you have appeared to forget, or wish to conceal, his constant abuse of the blacks."

Again:

"Be astonished, O heaven! and lament, O earth! at the radical difference between the speeches of Wm. Lloyd Garrison in 1832 and 1864!"

Again:

"I regret to state that the present course of *The Liberator* is such as to convince me that, although it was formerly a beacon-light, . . . it is now, to the extent of its circulation and influence, doing injury to the rights of all men, both black and white." (!!)

Finally:

"You attempted in the New England Convention, by your garbled quotations from Wendell Phillips's speeches, to make it appear that he had contradicted himself."

No severer charges could be brought against us. If they are dispassionately held by our Haverhill accuser, then we have fallen low indeed in his estimation, and henceforth must be to him even as a heathen and a publican. So let it be. But their virulence and extravagance compel us to the conviction that he knows not what spirit he is of; and that he mistakes a morbid partisan spirit for Gen. Fremont, and a jaundiced view of Mr. Lincoln's course, as proofs of unswerving fidelity to the anti-slavery cause on his part! We plead "not guilty" to his indictment. We pronounce it false, abusive, calumnious, in every particular. This is not the first time the heel has been lifted against us, on the pretence that we have abandoned or sacrificed the claims of the oppressed to indulge in some hobby. It is the old familiar spirit of "new organization" in a new guise, as arrogant in assumption, false in crimination, and bitter in feeling as ever. Its missiles will fall as harmless now as they did in other days. Those who are animated by it will find it to operate like poison in the blood: it will derange their whole moral constitution. It has always led in one direction—downward; and to one result—straining at gnats, and swallowing camels.

We take up first the last charge of the category contained in the letter of our Haverhill complainant, namely, that at the late New England Convention, we made "garbled quotations from Wendell Phillips's speeches, to make it appear that he contradicted himself." This implies positive dishonesty: it is a false charge. We assert that our quotations were fairly made in every instance: they can neither be denied nor explained away. Let the effort be made in our columns by whosoever will! And they can be greatly multiplied—and will be, if necessity be laid upon us. Yet this involves no breach of friendship, no personal rivalry, no conflict of principle, no difference as to the result sought. It relates solely to logical consistency, coherency of statement, and personal judgment as to the relations of Mr. Lincoln's administration to the cause equally dear to us both; and has no reference to any anti-slavery principle, measure or object, as such. What motive could we have to dissent from Mr. Phillips? To what man living are we more indebted than to him? Of whom have we so often spoken in terms of admiration and eulogy? Who has done more to record and circulate his eloquent utterances than ourself? Witness *The Liberator* in multitudinous columns for the last quarter of a century! With whom have we been more closely united by the sacred ties of friendship, as well as by the claims of a noble and divine cause? Has it come to this, that we cannot earnestly differ in opinion about public men and measures, without loss of personal regard and social intercourse? As the condition of working and walking together, must he endorse all our views, or we all his? Is this the individuality of Abolitionists of the old school? No man will more readily resent the thought than Wendell Phillips. That unlimited freedom of speech—personal to any extent, and without fear or favor—which he claims for himself, and in which he indulges, he will not deny to us or to others. If we separate from each other, it will be for some imagined or discovered sacrifice of principle for an unworthy purpose. The question, whether the loyal sentiment of the country can be more strongly brought out and secured by Lincoln or Fremont at the approaching Presidential election, and thus the government kept out of the hands of its deadly foes—and that is THE WHOLE QUESTION—affords ground for an honest difference of opinion, and is not a question of moral duty or of anti-slavery rectitude.

To the charges, that we have "abandoned the cause of the slave to his enemy," that we have "fallen," that we have "recanted our whole public labors," that *The Liberator* "is now doing injury to the rights of all men, both black and white," etc. etc., we can only protest that our Haverhill censor is laboring under an extraordinary hallucination! We compassionate his condition, and sincerely hope that he may yet be found "clothed, and sitting in his right mind." Our principles are the same, our demands for the enslaved and free people of color the same, as they were when our Haverhill friend professes to have been converted to radicalism by us, thirty years ago. For these we have nothing to substitute, nothing to recall. Standing now, as we stood then, outside of all ecclesiastical organizations and political parties, and above the reach of religious authority and party discipline, we are pursuing the same straightforward course as of old, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, bestowing censure where we deem it to be deserved, giving honor and credit to whom they are due, gladly hailing every word and act tending to the abolition of slavery, careful not to break the bruised reed nor to quench the smoking flax, and rendering righteous judgment in regard to men and things as the times demand.

Our dissatisfied friend asks:

"Did ever a reformer take the ground that we ought not to judge men by our standard, but by theirs? If that is your present principle of action, it is a recantation of your whole public labors. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of 1832, did not act upon that theory. He then proclaimed the eternal truth of God, as he understood it, whether men would hear or forbear."

This is to see a hobgoblin where nothing exists but impalpable air. It is a false issue, and, "like the baseless fabric of a vision." Mr. M. D. Conway, in a recent letter from England published in *The Commonwealth*, undertakes—all caparisoned for the fight—to run a Quixotic tilt at us, under the same delusion. Now, this is what we have affirmed: "As to the President, he must be judged by the circumstances and necessities of his position, according to the Constitution, and under the limitations of that instrument." To judge him otherwise, *as President*, would be unjust. On the war plane, Gen. Grant is to be judged by his possibilities, not by the rules of non-resistance. Before the rebellion, Congress had no right to decree the abolition of slavery in any slave State; but it could at any time legally abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Measuring it by its constitutional powers, and not by the highest ethical standard, Abolitionists petitioned that body to decree the extinction of slavery in the District, but they did not ask it to abolish slavery universally until it could do so constitutionally, "under the war power, and as a military necessity." President Lincoln is entitled to the same fair treatment. While he remains in his present situation, he cannot violate his trust without being guilty of perjury, nor be called upon to act the part of a reformer or an Abolitionist. That is all we mean by judging men by *their* standard or position, and not by *ours*.

The pith of the charges brought against us is, that we have abandoned the cause of the slave "by electioneering for the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency." This "electioneering" consists solely in our expressing the conviction, first, that Mr. Lincoln has an incomparably stronger hold upon the loyal sentiment of the country, as a Presidential candidate, than Gen. Fremont or any other man; secondly, that, inasmuch as any division of that sentiment can only tend to give success to pro-slavery, treasonable, copperhead democracy, and, consequently, success to a rebellion which has for its great object the eternization of slavery, it is neither wise nor justifiable to press the claims of any rival candidate at this time, but all personal preferences should be magnanimously swallowed up in the absolute necessity of presenting an unbroken front to the common enemy; and, thirdly, that, aside from all other considerations, the democratic principle, that the people have a right to choose their own rulers, remains to be vindicated in the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln and the suppression of the rebellion—so that he shall be duly recognized by the South, as well as by the North, as the rightful President of the United States, and the unity of the republic be preserved inviolate, on the basis of universal freedom.

In what manner is the Anti-Slavery cause compromised by the avowal of those convictions and the recognition of these facts?

Our seceding subscriber denounces the President for his "constant abuse of the blacks," (!!) and holds him up to opprobrium as thoroughly pro-slavery in spirit and design! Passing strange is it, then, that the slavery-loving South is in frantic rebellion against him and his Administration, and that the entire copperhead element of the North is boisterous for his defeat! And doubly strange is it that Gen. Fremont, who, it is claimed, is a "radical Abolitionist" to the fullest extent, should be complimented and supported in opposition to Mr. Lincoln by all the copperhead journals in the land! Who is the dupe, whose instinct is at fault, in this case? "Any change from Lincoln," says the Richmond *Examiner*, "will be better for us"—for us the rebels! "Are you there, old Twopenny?" Then you shall not be gratified in your wishes! In view of the death-dealing blows given to slavery by Mr. Lincoln and under his Administration, no marvel that he is detested and feared by all the Southern traitors and their Northern sympathizers; nor that the friends of freedom in the Old World rejoice in the renomination of Mr. Lincoln—their feelings being expressed in the following resolution, recently adopted by the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, England:

"That they rejoice exceedingly in the great and significant fact of the unanimous and enthusiastic renomination by the National Union Convention, of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States, and his acceptance of the said nomination with its noble platform of advanced anti-slavery principles, including the amendment of the Constitution, so as utterly and forever to exclude and exterminate the system of human bondage from every foot of territory beneath the Federal flag."

WESTERN OPINION.

[Extract of a letter from Giles B. Stebbins to *The Liberator*.]

SINCE the middle of April, I have travelled in Northern Indiana and Michigan, and have met, or heard from, most of the old anti-slavery men. Before the Cleveland Convention, there were those who looked to it with strong hope, and to whom the name of Fremont was inspiration. They had faith that he would stand high and firm, lending himself to no unworthy scheme; and that the action of that Convention would be such as to *brace up* the atmosphere of the movement for Liberty and Union. Since its doings have been made public, *I have not seen an Abolitionist, or heard of one, who is satisfied, or feels any earnest zeal to support the movement.* When Vallandigham, on his return to Dayton, read his speech, carefully prepared to defend his miserable course, and wove into its very heart a sentence from Fremont's letter of acceptance, *the name of the Pathfinder lost its magic.* To base uses indeed had his words come; and the sad feeling was, that they could be thus used with no wide perversion from their intent. The resolve of the Cleveland Convention for "equal rights for all men" is looked upon as vague, and of no meaning. *That Convention has no moral power.* I have heard a few "Copperheads" say they might vote for Fremont, *but nobody else.* The same class praise Wendell Phillips, and say, "he is coming to his senses." The weak and miserable effort for a "Northwestern Confederacy" was always looked upon with contempt in that region, save by the dupes of the bad men who started in the interest of rebellion; and now that Fremont's *New Nation* declares—"The new party espouses the grievances of the West against the East"—its words will be held in the East as "a sop to Cerberus," worthy only of contempt. Thus much of what I have heard, seen, and know. Let others make their reports, if they will.

SOME WORDS ON WAR AND PEACE.

BY HORACE GREELEY.

LAST week was signalized by two efforts to initiate negotiations with a view to the pacification of our country. The more important of these had Richmond for its arena. Mr. J. R. Gilmore—more widely known as "Edmund Kirke," author of "Among the Pines"—paid an unofficial visit to Richmond, accompanied by Rev. Col. James F. Jaques, of the 73d Illinois, and had a familiar interview with Jefferson Davis and several of his lieutenants. They went with the full knowledge of the President, intent on devising or discovering some ground of accommodation and adjustment between the belligerents now devastating the Republic, and appear to have been treated with signal courtesy, and even generous hospitality, but had no success. Mr. Gilmore gives the net product of the unofficial mission in this piquant passage:

"Jefferson Davis said to me last Sunday (and with all his faults, I believe him a man of truth): "*This war must go on till the last of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight our battle, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for Slavery. We are fighting for Independence, and that, or extermination, we will have.*"

Mr. Davis, I believe, has not yet acknowledged the right of his *black* countrymen to "self-government" or "independence" either. Nor does he acknowledge the right of North Carolina to secede from his confederacy, and thus disconnect herself from a rebellion into which she was precipitated by the grossest frauds. The Unionists of the South were conceded no right but apostacy on peril of extermination by Davis and his upholders. Yet *he*, doubtless, is fighting for "independence"—for freedom to impose chains on half the people of the slave States and to reign as autocrat over the residue. "Independence" is to him power, state, luxury, importance; but to the undistinguished many, even of Whites, under his sway, it is quite other than these. We may safely assume that he will make no peace that restores the Union, so long as there is a possible alternative. Yet the Gilmore-Jaques mission is no failure, though it resulted but in demonstrating this.

In the other effort for Peace, I was a participant, as follows:

Some time since, it was announced by telegraph from Halifax that Messrs. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi (ex-U. S. Senators), Prof. J. P. Holcombe, of the University of Virginia, and Geo. N. Sanders, of Kentucky, had reached that city from Dixie, *via* Bermuda, on important business; and all of these but Mr. Thompson (who is in Toronto) were soon quartered at the Clifton, on the Canada side of Niagara Falls. I heard soon after of confidential interviews between some or all of these gentlemen and leading Democrats from our own and the neighboring States, and there were telegraphic whispers of overtures for "reconstruction," and conditions were set forth as those on which the Confederates would consent to reunion. (I cannot say that any of these reports were authentic). At length, after several less direct intimations, I received a private letter from Mr. Sanders, stating that Messrs. Clay, Holcombe, himself, and another, desired to visit Washington, "upon complete and unqualified protection being given by the President or the Secretary of War."

As I saw no reason why the opposition should be the sole recipients of these gentlemen's overtures, if such there were (and it is stated that Mr. Clay aforesaid is preparing or to prepare an important letter to the Chicago Convention,) I wrote the President, urging him to invite the rebel gentlemen aforesaid to Washington, there to open their budget. I stated expressly that I knew not what they would propose if so invited, but I could imagine no offer that might be made by them which would not conduce, in one way or another, to a restoration of the integrity and just authority of the Union.

The President ultimately acquiesced in this view so far as to consent that the rebel agents should visit Washington, but directed that *I* should proceed to Niagara and accompany them thence to the Capital. This service I most reluctantly undertook, feeling deeply and observing that almost any one else might better have been sent on this errand. But time seemed precious, and I immediately started.

Arrived on this side of the Falls, I wrote across to Messrs. Clay & Co., stating that, on the understanding that they had the needful powers from the authorities at Richmond, I was authorized and ready to give them a safe conduct to Washington. They responded that, though in the confidential employment of their government, and fully conversant with its views and purposes, they had not the specific powers I required, but would get them, if permitted, and desired—in order to save time—to proceed at once to Washington, and be permitted thence to communicate with Richmond for the purpose. Not feeling at liberty to concede this, I telegraphed to Washington for further instructions, and was duly informed that Major Hay, the President's Private Secretary, would soon be on his way to me. He reached the Falls on the 20th, and we soon crossed over to the Clifton, where Major Hay, after mutual introductions, handed Prof. Holcombe the following paper, in the handwriting of the President:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864.

To whom it may concern:

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points; and the bearer thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

I left the Falls by the next train, leaving Major Hay to receive any response to the President's proffer, should any be made; but there was none. Messrs. Clay and Holcombe addressed to me a letter of sharp criticism on the President's proffer above quoted, which I first read in the columns of the daily journals of this city. And here the matter closed, despite all rumors of further or other negotiations. Messrs. Clay, Holcombe, and Sanders remain at the Falls, or at the adjacent watering-place of St. Catherine's, and are still in the receipt of many visits from Democratic politicians, who cross the border on purpose.

I heartily approve the President's bases of negotiation, and think them calculated to exert a salutary influence at the South; and yet I think it would have been wiser to have interposed *no* conditions, but asked the Confederates to perfect and verify their credentials, and then make their proposition. For, thus brought to book, what *could* they have proffered that would not have strengthened the upholders of the Union cause? It looks to me as though a rare opportunity was lost for compelling either the Democracy of the Loyal States or the despots of Europe to forego further manifestations of sympathy with the rebels in their desperate struggle. I may be mistaken in this, but I cannot be in my conviction that every indication of a desire on our part to arrest bloodshed and restore amity tends to disabuse and conciliate the great perverted mass of those now fighting to divide and destroy their and our country.—*Independent.*

From The Tribune.

The Herald has the following in a Toronto letter:

"I cannot close this communication without informing you of a fact for which I can vouch, and which shows the character of Mr. Greeley's loyalty. *He assured Mr. Holcombe that, so far as he was concerned, he would have no objection to the recognition of Southern independence, provided they would adopt a system of gradual emancipation.* This was certainly allying himself heart and soul with our English enemies, and shows conclusively that his loyalty has no higher object than the propagation of an ism, which helped so much to plunge our common country into revolution."

—The above is a lie, out of whole cloth. There was never a shadow of foundation for it. If there be any one with whom our word is not conclusive, we refer him to Prof. Holcombe, as also to Major Hay, who was present at the only (very brief) interview we ever had with Prof. H., and heard every word that was uttered.

—Whoever asserts or intimates that Horace Greeley ever discussed the conditions on which Peace should or might be made with any enemy of our government, or proposed or countenanced any negotiation for peace by unauthorized persons, is in the same boat with the Toronto fabricator.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

[C. L. B. writes as follows to *The Times*, under date Portsmouth, Va., July 18.]

THE silent, indefatigable way in which the North is solving the problems of Emancipation, by the only true course—*Education*—is something wonderful. There are now in Norfolk no less than twenty different schools for colored children, under highly intelligent ladies, who have come from the North for this noble purpose. They must contain some 1,800 children. The opening movement was made, I believe, by the American Missionary Society. I attended, the other evening, an "exhibition" of the best school—the exercises being conducted entirely by the blacks themselves. It was a ludicrous and, at the same time, a profoundly interesting affair. The buffoonery which characterizes the American slave was most laughably conspicuous, but there were certain pieces on Liberty recited in passionate tones by young girls, and certain songs of a very "revolutionary" character sung which thrilled the large audience like a trumpet call. Evidently, ideas are being sown in these schools with no sparing hand. Fancy an attempt to put this population back in its old condition!

We wish your readers, who speak glibly of slavery as "dead," and of the Southern opinion as changed on this matter, could talk with some of the "loyal" slaveholders in Nansemond or Norfolk Counties.

They believe in slavery just as much as they ever did; they would reinstate it to-morrow if they could; they hate the negro in any other respect than as a slave. They still talk of "constitutional guarantees," and their "State institution," and "rights to their negroes," as though the most fearful revolution of modern days had not put two hundred thousand bloody graves and the ruin of half a continent between the time when such phrases were realities and the present time. One of them laid the dilemma before me in these words: "There are only three cases possible: either the Confederacy will conquer, and then slavery will exist stronger than ever; or we shall unite under the old Constitution, and then slavery will remain as it was—a State institution; or the North will utterly conquer and subjugate the South, and then there will be no slavery, but there will be no South, and this last the North would never permit."

The true answer is that this is a revolution—a war of ideas—and that the ruling class of the South, those who are bound to slavery and who will never abandon it with life, must be conquered and will be practically exterminated; and then the great non-slaveholding class—their military organization being broken up and emigration pouring in from the free States—will gradually change their minds and become converted to freedom and the Union.

But to say this is done already is a simple folly. There are months of bloody battles and years of wearying struggles on a diminished scale before the first steps to this revolution of the South are accomplished. We must all be patient. Time, *Time* is needed. Neither party can retreat or compromise. It is an absolute and irreconcilable struggle of principles.

REBEL TREACHERY AND BARBARITY.

SOME SPECIMENS FROM TENNESSEE.

[The Nashville correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* says:]

WHEN our army under Gen. Negley occupied Maury County, Tennessee, Ira Hardison, a rich planter, took the oath of loyalty, and secured thereby protection for his property. A few days after, while the oath was fresh on his lips, Ed. Cooper, a notorious guerilla, fired into a train, and being hard pushed, ran to Hardison's, and was succored. Subsequently he harbored and fed as many as twenty guerillas at a time, and when asked what he charged, replied, 'Nothing—only drive out the d—d Yankees.' This man is raising cotton, and living to-day under the protection of the Federal government; and, Heaven knows, he is a fair specimen of the rebel planters in this State who have taken the oath.

But let me tell you something of this rebel's barbarity to the family of as good a soldier as ever wore the blue uniform. Early this year Sergeant Wilson enlisted in the Fifteenth regiment United States colored troops. This enraged Hardison, although Wilson had served him faithfully twenty-two years, and he began to vent his spite on his wife and children. On a Sabbath morning in May he knocked down the sergeant's son William three times, and after he was unable to rise kicked him in the side, then stripped him to the skin and whipped him until he was blind and insensible. This boy was aged fourteen. On the Tuesday following he threw the sergeant's daughter Adaline—a girl of twelve years—down on the ground and whipped her on the bare flesh savagely. The screams of the girl only enraged him. 'D—n them,' said he, 'I have old Wilson's family just where I want them.' Four weeks ago last Lord's day—yes, it was the day on which our Saviour rose from the dead—this hardened brute became enraged at Sarah Wilson, for simply carrying a cup of milk to her sick mother, flew at her and beat her with his fists until he was tired. The girl, in attempting to get away, fell and could not rise. He then ran to her and kicked her. While he was kicking the helpless slave, Mrs. Hardison came out and begged him not to kill her. But he became more savage still, ran to the entry of the house, procured a bridle, and beat the prostate woman over the face until it was horribly bruised! Where is Haynau now? And yet Hardison passes for a chivalric Southern gentleman—is the very soul of honor—has taken the oath, and is raising a big crop of cotton. And, let me assure you, his conduct toward the sons and daughters of our colored soldiers is not singular.

SCHUYLER COLFAX'S CREED.

[On the 25th of June Mr. Colfax wrote home to Indiana, assenting to be a candidate for re-nomination to Congress, which has since been unanimously given him, and that there might be no doubt as to his opinions, he defined them thus:]

I JUSTIFY the Administration in its denial to suspected traitors and their abettors of the writ of habeas corpus; for, as I read the Constitution, this was the express intent of its framers, when in time of insurrection, the public safety required it. I justify it, also, in what is denounced by its enemies as "arbitrary arrests"; and only regret that any thus arrested, against whom there seemed reasonable suspicion, like Marshal Kane and others, were discharged without trial. I justify a Butler in daring to hang a traitor in New Orleans, and a Burnside in arresting an influential politician for publicly defying and spitting on a military order, deemed essential for the nation's cause. I heartily approve the President's Emancipation proclamation, and his solemn declaration that no slave of any State, whether on the border or further south, who fights for his country, shall ever wear the chains of bondage. I am for the most vigorous exertions to reënforce our armies by the largest possible addition of colored troops; and only regret that the persistent opposition to them by the enemies of the Administration, their congressmen and their presses, has retarded their organization; when, had they unitedly aided in the work and encouraged it, we might have had, ere now, 400,000 of such soldiers, instead of 100,000, and avoided all impending drafts. I endorse most heartily the policy of confiscating the property of rebels voluntarily in arms against their country; and who guiltier than the parricide seek to involve country and citizen alike in a common destruction. I am for striking at slavery, the cause of all our woes and the progenitor of this gigantic rebellion, with every power under our control—war power of the army, the naval power of the navy and the proclamation power of the President; and for its final and irrevocable extirpation from the land, by an amendment to the Constitution which shall make that instrument as well as the republic itself, forever free; and thus, also, obey the divine injunction, "to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free." I am against treason, whether it rears its hideous form in front of our patriotic and gallant armies, or under the roof of our capitol; in the streets of New York, or within the borders of Indiana; and I am against the severance of the Union by the sword of rebellion, by a disgraceful compromise, or by a base surrender of the sacred cause in which so many martyrs for the right have so sadly and yet so bravely fallen. And to sum up, I am for Abraham Lincoln—the pilot who shrank not in the darkest hour—and for Andrew Johnson—"faithful among the faithless found"—for the highest offices in the nation's gift, of which they are each so worthy.

PROTECTION OF NEGRO TROOPS.

A WASHINGTON dispatch informed us yesterday that Massachusetts agents were in the District of Columbia, rapidly enlisting negroes into the military service of the United States. It is known that under the recent act of Congress, authorizing recruiting in all but three of the rebellious States, negroes are to be generally sought for as soldiers, the different States being quite certain to undertake the plan with more or less alacrity. Even from New-York agents of counties and towns will receive a sanction from Gov. Seymour. There is to be undoubtedly a large increase of the number of colored troops within the next three months, and the question therefore presses upon us: Whether these soldiers are to be protected by the government. Hitherto the thing has been fought off, and kept under, and pushed out of sight, but it cannot be smothered much longer. We suppose the 100,000 colored troops now under arms were enlisted mainly before the Fort Pillow massacre. If it has been deemed just to them to continue them in the service with the knowledge that they were exposed to death or slavery if captured, it can hardly be urged that new troops should be swept into the ranks by thousands to undergo the same chances.

We copy in full what is, so far as we know, the only order of the government touching the question of retaliation for the murder of colored troops:

WAR BULLETIN—OFFICIAL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 31, 1863.

GENERAL ORDER No. 252.—The following order of the President is published for the information and government of all concerned:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30, 1863.

It is the duty of every government to give protection to its citizens, of whatever class, color or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations and usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized Powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism, and a crime against the civilization of the age.

The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession. It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed, and for every one enslaved by the enemy, or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the Secretary of War,
E. D. TOWNSEND, Ass't. Adj't-Gen.

We refrain from going into the history of this business antecedently to that order. We pass over the outrages and murders which closely followed it, and were left unnoticed by the government. We pass over everything but the Fort Pillow case; that case we hold up to view by the side of the foregoing order, and we entreat public and official attention to it. Not from a sentiment of vengeance; we might suffer it to be forgotten, were it only a question of atoning the slaughter of three hundred brave soldiers for the sake of our flag. But we ask official notice of the new circumstances in which the matter who fought under it cannot be postponed forpresents itself; and, since it must be settled at some time, ever, but has got to be met and some time is not the we see no reason why the present time is not the best.

The prominent fact is this—that the government has officially promised protection to the negro troops, and has failed to keep its promise. So long ago as July 30, 1863, Mr. Lincoln said, over his own signature, "The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers." It is notorious that it has not. He said, "For every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed." The promise has been broken. It is five months since the Fort Pillow massacre. Congress sent a Committee to investigate the facts; the Committee reported; the massacre was officially brought to the notice of the government. Has a rebel soldier been executed? Has the government done *anything* to redeem its promise? Mr. Lincoln made a speech at Baltimore shortly after the Fort Pillow surrender, and promised that as soon as the facts were known something should be done. Has that promise been kept?

We hold ninety thousand rebel prisoners of war. When the rebel Gen. Jones put forty or fifty white officers under fire at Charleston a few weeks ago, the government was swift to retaliate by sending an equal number of equal rank to become targets for the rebel guns. Why does it discriminate between blacks and whites? What did the President mean when he said *all* soldiers should have the same protection? Is there any doubt that three hundred blacks were murdered at Fort Pillow? If there is, it should be officially made known; if there is not, the government has but one course to pursue, unless it means to repudiate its pledge, withdraw its promise of protection to the black troops, deny them their rights as soldiers, and yet continue to muster them into service to be murdered at the discretion of the rebel authorities. In one word, either the United States or the rebellion is to determine the status of colored soldiers. If we are ready to consent that Jefferson Davis shall dictate to us the kind of troops we shall employ, we may disband our colored regiments, and refuse all those hereafter offered. If not, the government must protect them by acts, as well as by promises, which hitherto have been kept to the ear and broken to the hope.—*Tribune.*

THE FREEDMEN OF NATCHEZ DISTRICT.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I notice in *The Tribune* of the 21st inst. a communication concerning freedmen, from Mr. Charles W. Elliott, in which the following passage occurs:

"Mr. Mellen, who controlled things in the Natchez District, I am told, thought the rate of wages fixed by Gen. Banks quite too low, and raised it. The consequence was that planters felt obliged to abandon the cultivation, which was disastrous to the negro as well as to the country."

As the writer has been misinformed, and the statement uncorrected may do harm to the freedmen, I submit the following statement of facts for such use as you think best to make of it.

I do not know a man who intended to plant in my agency for leasing abandoned plantations, which embraces all the territory of insurrectionary States recovered to our possession west of the Alleghanies and north of the mouth of Red River, who abandoned his purpose on account of the high wages to freedmen established by me; nor do I know of anything "disastrous to the negro as well as to the country" which has resulted from this cause.

The rate of wages fixed by me was $25 per month for first-class men, and $18 for women of same class, and proportionately lower for inferior classes, beside separate quarters for families, and an acre of ground for garden purposes for each family.

In addition to this, each lessee was required by the terms of his lease to "*contribute* one cent per pound on all cotton grown by him, and a proportionate sum upon all other products of their (the freedmen's) labor to the fund for the support of helpless and aged freed people, for educational and other purposes connected therewith."

And, in addition to this, each lessee was required to furnish and sell to his employees all needful supplies at 15 per cent. advance upon wholesale invoice prices in Northern cities, which was considerably less than the actual cost at the plantation. The rent to be paid to the government was fixed at one cent per pound for all cotton raised, and a proportionate sum upon all other products.

It is true that some of the former lessees, who had employed freedmen at much lower rates, and some others who were expecting to plant under the former system, were disappointed, and protested against the change; but so far as I know, none abandoned plantations on that account.

I gave notice of a public letting at Vicksburg of abandoned plantations in that part of the valley. A large number attended. The above terms were announced as the minimum rates determined on. Many plantations were applied for by two or more persons. These I decided to dispose of at auction. The bids were to be a bonus above the rates stated. The competition in bidding was such as would have satisfied Mr. Elliott, or any other disinterested man, that the

rate of wages fixed by me did not deter any man from planting. The bonus bids ranged from 1-10 of a cent to 8¼ cents per pound on all cotton raised, and a proportionate sum on all other crops.

I regard this as conclusive evidence that the rate of compensation to freedmen established by me was not too high, but that safety of location was the chief consideration with persons proposing to plant. Whatever consequences "disastrous to the negro as well as the country" have occurred in my agency have resulted from other causes, not necessary to mention now.

Over a thousand contracts were made in my agency with lessees and owners to employ all the freedmen worked by them upon the above terms. The demand for labor at these rates has been and is largely in excess of the supply. Hundreds of lessees have been driven away by raids, and still I am daily informed by agents and planters that hands enough cannot be obtained to gather the crops planted.

A first-class hand can raise ten bales, say 4,000 pounds of cotton, which, at two-thirds the present price, will bring $4,000. I do not think the condition of freedmen likely to be improved by employers unwilling to give them one-tenth of the products of their labor. Many owners of lands have made partnership arrangements with their former slaves, by the terms of which they support the laborers and their families, and give them one third of the net products, securing it to them by arrangement with the agents of the government. *They* understand these people and their own interests.

Regulations are now being prepared in the Treasury Department, under the late act of Congress, concerning this subject, making the system and rates uniform over the whole country, and I think if rates of wages are established by the Secretary, they will be fully equal to those fixed by me last Winter.

The persistent efforts of rebels to break up this free labor planting interest, and the use of our military forces elsewhere, so that they could not be spared to protect it, have caused much interruption and loss this year; but I still hope, if labor can be obtained to gather the cotton planted, that over 100,000 bales will be sent to market from my agency, as the product of this year's planting, in spite of guerillas and all adverse circumstances.

I am, very respectfully, etc.
Wm. P. Mellen,
Sup. Sp. Agt. Treas. Dept., 1st Agency.
Treasury Department, Washington, July 23, 1864.

THE FREMONT MOVEMENT.

ITS REAL OBJECT AND PURPOSE BEGINNING TO BE APPARENT.

From Wilkes's Spirit of the Times, July 30.

We regret to see that the movement in favor of Gen. Fremont, which it was hoped would have secured a good national candidate from the Democratic party, has, through the imprudence of its orators and organs, *resolved itself into a mere auxiliary agency to the nomination of McClellan.* The elements which originally rallied round Fremont, and which fashioned the platform subsequently modified at Cleveland, was an earnest, ardent, liberty-loving, rebel-hating element, and which, obeying these instincts, was bitterly opposed to everything that savored of Copperheadism, or that exhibited the slightest indication of conservative proclivity. Indeed, it was the restive hostility of ardent men to Mr. Lincoln's retention of pro-slavery Generals, and *the suspicion that he was disposed to compromise with the rebellion, which gave shape and vigor to this organization of the radical Democracy.* The Fremont movement was, in short, the fartherest from copperheadism or retrogression, of any political organization known to the country; and yet, strangely enough, *we now find it in practical alliance with the Copperhead tacticians, and combining with them, actively, in restoring their most pernicious representatives to popular esteem.*

We feel quite sure that Gen. Fremont never contemplated the performance of such a *rôle* as this, and equally sure he is not yet aware of its character and tendency; nevertheless, no intelligent outside observer can fail to perceive that he and his movement have been appropriated by the Copperheads, and *are skilfully directed in behalf of a reactionary, if not disloyal candidate.* The unanimous praise bestowed by the opposition journals upon Gen. Fremont's letter of acceptance decoyed his orators into responsive laudations of McClellan. Brownson led off in this unworthy toadyism, at the ratification meeting in this city; Copperhead orators, pure and simple, were then projected upon hotel balconies, to return the compliment in favor of Fremont, and the cheers which mingled the names of the military craw-fish and the Pathfinder welded the secondary into the prevailing metal. From that hour the power of Fremont, to make a vigorous challenge of Lincoln's policy and Cabinet, passed away; while any chance of his receiving the Chicago nomination became too remote for calculation. This latter fact, though concealed for a time from his volatile supporters by deceptive Copperhead hosannas, was patent to that artful opposition from the first; and their whole object was, to so engineer this apparent reaction in favor of McClellan as to secure that candidate the Democratic nomination. Every one who has carefully looked on, can trace the proofs of this performance. When the Chicago Convention was postponed from the 4th of July until the 19th of August, it was universally conceded that Little Mac's chances for a nomination were finally disposed of. By common consent (always excepting the Belmont-Barlow clique, who own McClellan) even the Copperheads themselves began to look around for a new candidate; and in the sudden perturbation, there seemed, to the unskilful, to be a possible acceptance of Fremont. It was then that the orators and the organs of the Cleveland movement became most conciliating toward the chieftains of the Opposition; and the result was that McClellan, being thus partially lifted from a deserved obloquy, in quarters where it was never deemed he would get another hearing, was thought by his party to be sufficiently restored to popularity to be united on again in August. The hero of the Chickahominy, therefore, who had been virtually abandoned as a candidate, by the adjournment of the Convention which was prepared to nominate him on the Fourth of July, has been coming back upon his party during the last three weeks like a four-miler, and already leads by a commanding distance toward the common goal. As for Fremont having any chance of a nomination from the Chicago Convention, it is reduced to an absurdity; and it is to be hoped he will perceive this fact in time to prevent such a calamity as the nomination of McClellan. It should be sufficient to alarm him that his cause has thus early been subjected to the calamity of Brownson as its leader; while the objects of that leader are unmistakably foreshadowed by the elaborate defense made by him in his last *Review* of the traitor Fitz-John Porter.

It is no reflection on Fremont's sagacity that he has not yet detected the bearing which his imprudent or conniving orators have given to his movement; but his aroused intelligence cannot fail to see it now; and he has yet plenty of margin to vindicate the lofty declaration of his letter, that his main object is not to advance himself, but to secure a worthy Administration to the country. To use an expressive, though common phrase, he has not the ghost of a chance for the Chicago nomination; and *the present attitude of his organization is simply that of an auxiliary to the advancement of McClellan.* The worst enemy Gen. Fremont has on earth would not venture to assume that such a *rôle* is worthy his adoption and performance.

THE PEACE BLONDINS AT NIAGARA.

From Harper's Weekly.

The late peace performance at Niagara Falls was not very mysterious. It was simply a movement of the rebels to help their friends the Copperheads. It was a notification, to whom it might concern, that if the government of the United States were handed over to the friends of the rebels, then the rebels would lay down their arms. It was a confession that the rebel leaders are sorely pinched, that they foresee disaster, and that they are perfectly willing to have us give them by our votes the victory which they despair of obtaining by their arms.

The conduct of the President was simple and proper. Informed that there were accredited agents from the rebel chiefs who wished to treat of peace, he consented that they should visit Washington. But when they confessed that they had no authority whatever, the President, in order that there should be no apparent justification, even, of the assertion that he had refused to listen to overtures of submission from the rebels, issued a notice, to whom it may concern, that the government of the United States is always ready to hear and consider any authorized proposition from the rebel leaders involving the restoration of the Union and the abandonment of slavery. To this the discomfited and self-appointed rebel agents reply in a manifesto intended to represent the President as an autocrat and a despot, etc., and expressing their own resolution never to submit to conquest, etc. It is interesting to learn from this paper that in a region where every man between fifteen and sixty-five is dragged into the ranks, and exempted soldiers are legislated back again to serve as long as they are wanted, there is no military autocrat; and that, in a section where the most hopeless terrorism universally prevails, social institutions, established constitutions, and priceless hereditary self-government are not overthrown, subverted, or bartered away. Mr. Clement Clay's letter is but a poor specimen of our own Copperhead orations and editorials. But it is not without value, for it shows to the dullest mind the perfect sympathy in sentiment between Copperheads and rebels.

It is suggested that the Constitution does not authorize the President to make any condition such as the abandonment of slavery. Those who say so honestly are mistaken. There may be a question of policy, which we think the President has rightly resolved; but there is no Constitutional question. The Constitution defines treason, authorizes making of war, appoints the President Commander-in-Chief, and authorizes the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in cases of rebellion and invasion. There is nothing in any of these provisions which deprives the government of the right of exercising its common sense, or compels it to lay down its arms at the will of rebels or foreign enemies. The government is the judge when a foreign war is over or a domestic rebellion quelled. Nor is there in the Constitution or in reason any obligation upon the government to connive at its own destruction. The government of the United States is bound by every consideration to secure peace; and peace is impossible while the active cause of war remains, watching for its opportunity. The cry that the President cannot constitutionally require the destruction of that cause as a condition of peace is but another effort of the enemies of the country to prolong the war indefinitely. When the government was established the cloud of slavery was as large as a man's hand. Four years ago it was a tempest, blackening the heavens and raining fire. And now we are told that it is proper to put up an umbrella to keep off the wet, but unconstitutional to erect a lightning-rod to draw the fire harmlessly to the ground. It is idle to shirk the vital point of the whole war, and imagine that peace can be had with slavery. To that point the public mind has advanced. If a truce should be called and the question opened for debate, the truce would soon disappear in fresh cannon-smoke. Liberty and slavery are fighting for and against this government. Is he a wise man who affects to think that by omitting the name we can avoid the thing?

THE ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

From The Evening Post, August 1.

There was a large assemblage of colored people of New York and Kings County at Leffert's Park, Brooklyn, to-day, in accordance with their annual custom of celebrating the first day of August. The principal object of this celebration was with reference to the events of the present war favorable to the negro. The meeting was organized by the appointment of officers, after which Rev. Sella Martin, lately from England, delivered the oration. We give an abstract of it:

ORATION OF SELLA MARTIN.

Mr. Martin said, in beginning, that the presence of the negro race in the United States is one of the strangest phenomenon of history. From a heathen country, where barbarous habits and idolatrous worship prevailed, they had been brought to America, where the highest state of civilization has been secured by the blending of the most civilized races of the world into one people; where the most exhaustive appliances of civilization and the highest form of religious expression exist. What was the secret of their presence? Heretofore, slavery had joined issue with customs, religions and civilizations. In this instance, the issue is one of races; and the African race is peculiarly qualified to make that issue a final one. The distinctions of color, prejudice on account of it, their barbarous origin and submissive nature have tended to make slavery in this country assume the most horrible form of any slavery in history. If, therefore, slavery is defeated here, where the issue is so palpable, and the contest so fierce, it is defeated forever.

Slavery had, Mr. Martin said, been defeated twice on and about the continent, in reference to this race—in the West Indies under France, and at the same spot under England. It was defeated in the first instance by the negro himself; in the next by the growth of civilization and Christianity, which also caused the abolition of white slavery in England. In this last issue on this continent, it is to be defeated by these two forces conjoined—the negro and this civilization.

That being the case, Mr. Martin continued, it becomes an important question what the negro's duty is under the circumstances. An excuse has been made for employing the negro to defeat the enemies of the government, on the ground that his acclimation would defeat those Southern scourges which have been destructive to the white man in the South. But God, as if in rebuke of this excuse, has driven all epidemics from that climate during this war. Another excuse was that in consequence of the physical powers of the negro, he would make the best ditch-digger. But as soon as he was employed, Providence, through the Administration, removed the great ditch-digger of the century, our military Yorick; and now the demand for the negro's services is rising into that pure atmosphere of justice which allows him to fight for his own country, and in defence of his own government, because he is a man, and because it is the desire of the just and true to make him a citizen.

The contest, said the speaker, must be a difficult one. Prejudice, the growth of centuries, proscription, the fossilized power of the slaveholders, cannot be removed but by great bravery in the field, great sacrifices at home, long suffering among the soldiers, unquestionable loyalty among the colored citizens, unfaltering devotion under all circumstances and in every situation.

Concerning the contest in England, Mr. Martin said that the struggle for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies was carried on through a free press that poured the light of truth, the force of justice, and the influence of Christianity into every home. The platform and the hustings of England were firm enough and well guarded enough to secure a standing for honest conviction and independent expression. The legislative halls of England fairly groaned under the revelations of woe connected with the system of slavery in the West Indies. Facts were weighed, figures examined, arguments listened to, warnings regarded, and the champion of the negro respected. The churches of England flung wide their doors, and admitted the advocate of impartial freedom. The priest joined with the reformer, the Christian with the political economist, the philanthropist with the honest operative of England.

But in America the press was dumb, or sold to slavery, with but few exceptions. No unscrupulous lie was too glaring for its use; no injustice too palpable for its perpetration. The platform was deluged with stones and rotten eggs; the speaker silenced by the yells of the mob. The legislative halls resounded with the blows upon the head of the most honest, pure and incorruptible friend of the negro; and the Church threw its powerful influence against the reform and the victim in whose behalf he pleaded.

Thus, said Mr. Martin, we see the labor in England, as compared with the struggle in America, was as a pastime among wrestlers on a Roman fete day, and the Titanic struggle of a race of moral heroes upon whom the proscription and prejudice of slavery were heaped, as a crushing globe of iniquity.

Nor will the results be less striking in their difference. In England the victory was secured by a very active minority, leaving the majority, especially the upper classes, as much in favor of slavery as before. For to-day the sympathy of England in favor of the rebels rests upon the same basis as the purpose of the rebels in seeking to overthrow the government—the belief in an inferior order of society, the recognition of the interest of a superior order to govern.

When this contest is over, Mr. Martin added, we (the colored race) shall have gained nothing if we do not gain to the fullest extent the recognition of all the glorious and righteous claims of that true democracy which is to be established in the new world.

Mr. Martin's oration, an able and eloquent production, was listened to with great interest by the assembly.

Other speeches were delivered in the course of the afternoon by Rev. Wilbur G. Strong, Rev. S. T. Jones, John Peterson, J. C. Morell, and others.

The exercises were interspersed with music, and were highly interesting to the persons present.

THE REPULSE AT PETERSBURG.

From The Evening Post.

The disappointment of the public at the untoward result of the assault at Petersburg on Saturday is in proportion with the great and eager expectations excited by the reports in the morning journals. These reports magnified very greatly, as it now appears, both the importance of the operation and the value of the success, if success had been attained; so that even if our men had held what they seized in the first rush of the conflict, there would still, we now see, have been a disappointment in store for the public, which had been persuaded to expect too much.

The result of Saturday's battle is another test of our endurance. There are doubtless some who will exclaim with the *World* this morning: "We cannot take Richmond!" A few, perhaps, will be ready to give up the struggle and let the rebels have their way. There are such weak creatures in every nation—there were men in England, after the failure of each of the three great assaults on Sebastopol, who cried out: "We are whipped, we have failed, our soldiers cannot fight, our generals cannot plan, our engineers cannot sap, as can the Russians." But the great British nation confessed nothing of the kind—it only gritted its teeth and said: "We can do this thing, and though it is unpleasant, we are committed to it now, in the face of the world, and cannot for our honor retreat or give it up."

The siege of Sebastopol, of which we have spoken, in several points closely resembles the siege which General Grant is now conducting. Like Grant, the British and French were never able to entirely invest the city—or rather intrenched camp—which they besieged. The Russians had always a secure line of supply from their arsenals at Moscow, by way of the intrenched camp on the north side of the harbor. The allied forces before Sebastopol, like our own before Petersburg and Richmond, endeavored to advance their positions by three ways—by the sap, by assaults and by bombardment. They made three separate assaults, each of which failed—the fourth succeeded. They subjected the place to seven different and terrible bombardments; three of these were entirely abortive, and only developed the weakness of the English guns and the faults of their system of engineering. They exploded a number of mines at different times, but with no advantage. They brought one hundred and fifty guns to bear against the Malakoff, and knocked it entirely out of shape; yet the next morning, when they expected to assault it, they found the work restored to shape, and the guns in position again.

Meanwhile the Russians were constantly making sorties, in which, the French Marshal, Neil, said, "we lost our bravest and best men." Besides these sorties there were pitched battles, such as the battle of the Tchernaya, in which the Russians, with fifty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, attacked the allies. This is as though Lee should fall upon Grant's flank with eighty or ninety thousand men, and endeavor to break his aggressive force. But he has not dared to attempt this.

Lee, on the other hand, makes demonstrations upon our territory, by the expeditions he sends to the Potomac. These he will continue to make, no doubt; and unless we are willing to embarrass Grant, we must prepare to resist these with a separate army, otherwise it may happen that General Grant will have to stop a raid in Pennsylvania or Maryland, by making such a demonstration against Petersburg as that of Saturday. No doubt the manœuvres of Grant during the last week caused Lee to call back the greater part of the force which he had sent down the valley of the Shenandoah.

At the same time, it remains to be said that Grant probably could not have gained the information concerning the nature of the enemy's works which he needed, in any other way than by an assault.

What we have endeavored to make plain to the reader is, that the failure of an assault on works of the strength of those at Petersburg is not an uncommon incident in a siege; that it is not decisive against Grant at all; that he maintains over the enemy the same moral and physical superiority which he acquired over them at Spottsylvania Court House; and that, as Lee has never since that day dared to assume the offensive against Grant, so he is in no better position to do this now than he was before the assault.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 6, 1864.

THE INSTANT PERIL.

The public was startled some ten days ago by the report of the discovery of a Conspiracy at the West, with ramifications extending through all the North, having for its object the separation of the West from the Union and its erection into a separate sovereignty. The baits held out to the other portions of the country were various, adapted to the necessities of their various prejudices and passions. There was a good deal of inconsistency in the details and of the incredible in the general design. That the West should really wish to secede from the rest of the Union and set up for herself does not in itself seem very probable. The advantages she derives from the present partnership would seem to outweigh any that she could reasonably reckon on, if she should set up on her own account. And that the most rabid of the Northern traitors should join in such a plot, to ruin the nation at their own expense, was almost beyond the bounds of possibility. The particulars which we have been promised have not yet appeared, and, very probably, never will. But though the story was, it is likely, dressed up to pique the appetite of newspaper readers, and more made of it than facts, when thoroughly sifted, will warrant, we have no doubt that there was a substantial basis of truth for what was furnished forth to the public. And why should we doubt it? It is a well-established fact that such a conspiracy did exist before the war broke out. The abettors of the Slavocracy were all ready to act in concert for the completion of its designs during the Winter of 1860–61 and long before. The organized attempts on the life of Wendell Phillips in Boston and the well-drilled mobocracy which broke up the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society that Winter, and which appeared wherever there was any Anti-Slavery demonstration, showed that there was something more serious underlying them than the mere love of mischief.

That treasonable combination would have been of infinite assistance to the slaveholders in their design to seize on the government of the nation and to suppress all questioning of their Divine Right, had it not been for the mad and reckless haste which hurried them forward. We do not believe that the alliance between Slavery and Pro-Slavery would have triumphed finally, but it might have given Slavery a long day of reprieve and, probably, thrown the burden of armed resistance upon the North—for we cannot believe that the North would have submitted to the tyranny which was contemplated, without resistance. But the South might have been formally in the right in whatever conflict might have been inevitable, with the advantage of a large body of devoted friends in the midst of the hostile camp. The over-confidence of the slaveholders in their strength and in the fidelity of their Northern serfs led them to the fatal error of beginning a war of bullets and sabres, when they might have long held their supremacy by their old arts of political chicanery and trickery. But it is not to be wondered at. Their creatures at the North were as much astonished as they were themselves at the spirit which Ruffin's shot at Sumter aroused. The famous *Herald* of that date, and recollections within the memory of us all of the exultation of open sympathizers when the news first came, furnishes evidence enough on this point. But the reserved force of spirit and resentment checked all demonstration everywhere. *The Herald* had to hang out the National flag or hang itself, and Fernando Wood was compelled, through fear of his life, to make patriotic and war speeches. And so everywhere. And then the extent of the war soon gave a vent to multitudes of uneasy spirits, "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace," and the army and the contracts afforded a safety-valve to much energy which had looked to treason as its natural way of escape. But men's hearts were not thus changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. Some were, in due course of time, and became honest converts. But many others carried their treason into the public service, military or otherwise, and did the enemy more good in our own uniform than they could have done in theirs.

It should be nothing surprising, then, if the skeleton organization left behind by the Knights of the Golden Circle should have remained and been filled out by the rampant treachery which scarcely pretends to hide itself all over the North. Its purpose is not to promote further secession, but to help that which is now in full operation. Its first object is to secure such a reconstruction as shall leave the whole power of the nation in the hands of the slaveholders, with such guarantees as shall make resistance to their power almost hopeless. Failing of this, their next design is to consent to what the secessionists now demand and grant them their independence on their own terms, which would involve extradition, equivalent to the Fugitive Slave laws, and a general accommodation of our policy to theirs. Upon this basis, if no better terms can be engineered, parties will be arranged so that the Southern influence should be thrown in favor of their friends, so as to make up so far as possible for the more direct assistance of the Southern vote. That Northern treason has taken some organized shape we assume as an accomplished fact, from the nature of things and the constitution of human beings. The effect of this organization will be powerfully felt in the approaching Presidential campaign. It will inspire the action of many honest and honorable men, who would reject it with abhorrence if they knew whence the influence under which they act has flowed. The dissatisfaction which is felt by multitudes of the best minds with the manner in which the war and the State have been carried on for the last three years will be made use of to bring about results they would be the first and the loudest to deplore. The Abolitionists, in common with the rest of the people, are now forced to fall back on the law of expediency. Not the absolute right, but the nearest approach to it, to be had, will have to be sought out even by them, if they propose taking any part in the active operations of the Autumn. Absolute neutrality will be impossible. Principles will be incarnated in men, even if men not fully worthy to embody them, and must be sustained or rejected. It will be, inevitably, a conflict between Liberty and Slavery, which will be had next November, and its responsibilities cannot be blinked any more than its consequences can be escaped. Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind, but let him see to it that passion, or prejudice, or shortness of vision, do not lead him to do what he would most avoid.

The foemen we have most to fear are not those arrayed against us in the field. We are, probably, a match for them; or, if not, we can submit with what grace we may to the fortune of war. Our chief danger lies in the direction of those enemies in our own camp who are plotting to make even victory bear the fruits of defeat for us. What may be the possible consequences of the election of Mr. Lincoln we cannot say. He may desert the principles of his Emancipation proclamation, which he has just reaffirmed, and conclude a disgraceful peace, either acknowledging the independence of the rebels, or granting them terms which were even worse. But we know that one or the other of these evils is inextricably wrapped up in a Copperhead success. Primarily, of course, they wish to preserve a Union which would secure them the old predominance in the Nation, through their old alliance with the slaveholders. But, if the Davis government be resolute, and it be not exterminated before next March by force of arms, an incoming Copperhead Administration would be sure to grant it what it asked, even to the half of its kingdom. The inbred habits of submission and the innate love of slavery which mark this servile race will make sure, if not swift, instruments in the hands of the slave's masters and their own. These secret societies which have just come to light are part and parcel of a yet wider and more dangerous conspiracy. Crowned with success, and invested with power, it will become an authority and a prevailing one. An extended term of misery to the slaves, a long and bitter season of disgrace to the free States, a cruel deferring of the hope of the oppressed everywhere, would follow such a calamity as the night the day. Let every man watch that he is not made a partaker in this guilt, by his indifference, his folly or his crime.

THE POSITION OF THE STANDARD IN RELATION TO POLITICS.

A short time since, we received a private letter from a prominent Abolitionist, alleging that The Standard was "a partisan supporter of Lincoln," which, he said, it had "no right to be," the American and Massachusetts Societies and the N. E. Convention having voted resolves of lack of confidence in the Administration, and we being bound to conform to the opinion of the "constituents" of the paper as thus expressed.

We think our readers generally will be glad to see what we wrote in reply to this complaint, and therefore print the more material portions thereof, in substance, as follows:

My Dear Friend:....You think The Standard "a partisan supporter of Lincoln." I agree with you that it has "no right to be" that, and consequently, if it is, that you have a right to complain. It is just here, however, that you do me injustice, and I entreat you to reconsider the question, and to ask yourself if it is not just possible that your judgment may be warped by partisan sympathy. The Standard is certainly no more a Lincoln sheet now than it was in 1860, when it was apparent to every reader, not that it thought Lincoln the best man in the country for President, but that, in spite of his pro-slavery complications (including the support of the Fugitive Slave law), it preferred to see *him* elected rather than Breckinridge, Douglas or Bell. That Wendell Phillips had the same preference was apparent from speeches made while the election was pending; and when it was over he exclaimed, "For the first time in our history the *slave* has chosen a President of the United States." And yet Mr. Phillips, though rejoicing in "the moral effect of the victory" which placed Lincoln in the Presidential chair, was not then nor previously his partisan. The Standard occupies precisely the same position now that it did in 1860. It is not the partisan of Lincoln; it does not regard him as the best man in the country for President; it has a keen sense of his short-comings and faults; it regrets that the Union party is not up to a higher moral level, and has not chosen a candidate of more pronounced and unqualified anti-slavery convictions, and one more capable of kindling the anti-slavery enthusiasm of the country. But, after all, it prefers his election rather than that of a Copperhead, and it deprecates any movement to defeat him by a division of the loyal party, precisely as it would have deprecated such a movement in 1860.

It is not the business of the anti-slavery movement to *make* Presidential candidates, or to enter into political combinations for that purpose; but it is its duty to watch the movements of the political parties, to discriminate fairly and justly between their candidates, bestowing commendation where it is deserved, and censure where it is demanded by the interests of the cause. The Standard has adopted no new principle or policy, but stands clearly and firmly on the very ground it has occupied from the beginning. It maintains and will exercise its right to criticize the Administration, to rebuke its short-comings, to expose and condemn its every unjust act. But while it is not Mr. Lincoln's partisan, it will not, on the other hand, become the partisan of his opponents. It will take good care, in the interest of the slave's cause, not to make itself the instrument of faction, nor to play into the hands of the enemies of emancipation by wholesale, indiscriminate, reckless and partisan censure and disparagement. It will go *for* the Administration only so far as the Administration does right, *against* it whenever it does wrong. If it fails in this, in any degree, it will be an error of the head, not of the heart.

What I have said above is, perhaps, a sufficient reply to what you say of my duty as affected by the resolutions of the Massachusetts and American Societies and the New England Convention, but on this point let me speak more distinctly. In the first place I deny the right of the Massachusetts Society and the N. E. Convention to instruct me in my duties as Editor of The Standard. The opinions of those bodies, fairly expressed, would command my profound respect; but the American Society and its Executive Committee alone have the right to instruct me. When they, or either of them, shall require of me any change in the position or spirit of the paper, I hold myself bound to obey or resign. The resolution of Mr. Phillips (unexpectedly pressed in a small meeting and passed by two majority) does not seem to me to require or even to authorize such a change. The resolution simply says: "We see no evidence of the purpose of the Administration to place the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril." What have I said or done to contradict this declaration? The point of the resolution, as explained at the time, is, that the Administration does not propose to "secure the freedom of the negro against *every* peril" by giving him at once the right of suffrage. Now, admitting that this is a grave fault, for which the Administration deserves severe rebuke, does it follow that there is no ground for preferring the election of Lincoln to that of a Copperhead? Is it fairly to be inferred that the Society was committed by that resolution to such opposition to the Administration as characterizes *The New Nation* and the supporters of Fremont generally? I am sure that, upon mature reflection, you will not say so. In the nature of things, it could not have been the purpose of the Society to define therein the duty of The Standard in regard to events then in the future, and which it was impossible for any one to foresee. There is nothing that I can see in the resolution which modifies the duty or limits the right it has always exercised of applying its principles impartially to the movements of men and parties as they occur.

In commenting upon the notorious and transparent fact that Fremont's letter of acceptance was a bid for the Chicago nomination—an atempt to conciliate the Copperheads by echoing their cries—do I make myself a partisan of Lincoln? If the exposure is calculated to win votes for Lincoln, is that my fault? Or am I, on that account, bound to be silent? Not so do I read my duty. Nor do I think I am bound to forbear because you and some other true friends of the slave have—unfortunately, as I think—become entangled in the Fremont movement. On the contrary, it seems to me that this circumstance makes the duty of exposure and remonstrance on my part more sacred and imperative.

Now, my friend, let me ask what you would feel bound to do, if, holding my opinions of the Fremont movement, you were the Editor of The Standard? Would you not sound the alarm, and do all that you rightfully could to expose and defeat its plottings? I know you would, and I am sure that, if I differed from you ever so widely in opinion, I should repect and commend you for so doing. If you say that, holding such opinions, I ought not to be the Editor of The Standard, I reply: that may or may not be so; it is a question for the Executive Committee. I am ready to retire at any moment, if they think that my opinions or my prejudices disqualify me for the post. In the performance of what seems to me my duty at this crisis, I may err in judgment; but it is my honest purpose, avoiding all partisanship, to walk with firm and even step in the old paths.

Very cordially yours, Oliver Johnson.

LETTER FROM EDWARD M. DAVIS.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I looked with some anxiety in your issue of last week for the article which appeared in the early part of July in the Boston *Pioneer*, purporting to give the result of an interview, at Nahant, between the editor of that paper, General Fremont, and Wendell Phillips. I did not find it. I said, "it will be in the next." It has come, and I do not find the article. You have, no doubt, seen it. Would it not be well to give your readers a chance to judge for themselves as to its merits; or do you consider it unauthorized? Or, not being in The Standard or *The Liberator*—and whose fault is it that so important a paper should be suppressed by the Republican journals and Abolition press?—do you consider it "whispers behind the stairs"?

It is pretty hard for some of us, who feel that we have a right to our opinion, and that we have as fair an opportunity of judging as those who ridicule us, and no less an interest in the common good, to find *The Liberator* and Standard conducted in the partisan spirit that they are. For ourselves we can bear this. I and you have been used to it from a pro-slavery press for years; but you are conducting the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society—a Society that you do not represent, as you must know when you cast your eyes over the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting, of the last meeting of the Massachusetts Society, and of the last meeting of the Executive Committee of this State. I must ask your attention to these as well as to your own sense of fairness, in which I had great confidence until the Cleveland platform was adopted.

I wish also to express my disapprobation of the motives that prompted the omission of the usual New England 4th of July and 1st of August meetings. We in this field of labor always looked to them as fresh sources of strength, and we did not think you were afraid to meet together and discuss points upon which you differ. Differences of *opinion* will not separate us. Let us be watchful, and as fair to each other as we can—knowing that partisanship is likely to influence all of us—remembering that if we are united in *spirit*, in a disinterested love of the cause we have so long struggled in, we shall continue to be useful.

I should have less objection to even your unfair criticisms of the "Fremont movement" if you were as open-eyed to the Lincoln movement, although I want fairness towards both.

Very truly, E. M. Davis.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

We very cheerfully give place to the letter of our highly esteemed friend, whose hearty devotion to the anti-slavery cause, as manifested by tongue, pen and purse for many years, commands our gratitude and admiration. To his friendly criticism we frankly respond as follows:

1. We will promptly publish the article from the Boston *Pioneer* whenever Mr. Davis will furnish evidence that Gen. Fremont acknowledges it to be a true report of his sentiments and words, and that he desires it to be received as such by the people of the United States. As a report of a private conversation, prepared by an irresponsible partisan for a political purpose, *and which Gen. Fremont is at any time at liberty to repudiate*, it has no value whatever, and his friends have no claim on us for its publication. Presidential candidates, of whatever party, must expect to be judged by their own words and acts, responsibly uttered or performed. Gen. Fremont, when he wrote his letter accepting the Cleveland nomination, made deliberate choice of the ground on which he preferred to stand. If he wishes to change his position, he can be at no loss to find a way to the public ear for anything to which he chooses to put his name; but we repudiate as an unworthy political trick the attempt of his partisans to offset, contradict, or even supplement his own responsible utterances by irresponsible reports of what he is alleged to have said in private conversation. Such an attempt is well calculated to remind us of the conduct of some of the Northern supporters of Gen. Taylor in 1848, when they sought to avert the judgment which he deserved for his pro-slavery character up to that time by showing letters which he had written for private circulation, but not for the public eye! The leaders of the party formed at Cleveland, when they entered the arena, challenged our attention by many high-sounding professions. "Behold, at last," they virtually said, "a political party founded on great principles of righteousness, free from all taint of expediency and corruption—a party whose mission it is to 'lift American politics into the sphere of morals and religion.'" And yet this is the party whose friends are seeking to commend their Presidential candidate to the confidence of Abolitionists by parading before them sentiments which he is said to have uttered in private, but which are not authenticated by his name! We must respectfully decline lending our columns for the furtherance of any such scheme. Whenever Gen. Fremont chooses, in any responsible way, to address the public upon the political issues of the time, we shall report his sentiments so far as they relate to the objects to which this paper is devoted; but we have not the slightest interest in what he says, or is reported to have said, to his partisans in private; nor shall we countenance the attempt by such means to divert attention from his true position as the betrothed (politically) of John Cochrane and the "twin-cherry" of McClellan!

2. Mr. Davis says to us: "You are conducting the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society—a Society that you do not represent, as you must know, when you cast your eyes over the proceedings of the last Annual meeting, of the last meeting of the Massachusetts Society, and of the last meeting of the Executive Committee of this State (Pennsylvania)." As The Standard does not profess to be the organ of either the Massachusetts or the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and as neither of these Societies has ever claimed the right to instruct us in our editorial duties, the allusion to their proceedings in this connection is hardly pertinent. Nevertheless, we will declare our firm persuasion that, in respect to the matters to which our friend alludes, we do fairly represent the feelings and opinions of three-fourths, if not of nine-tenths of the members of those Societies. Mr. Davis will hardly pretend that the Massachusetts Society, so long ago as last January, foresaw the precise issues of the Presidential election, and what would be the attitude of the political parties and their candidates, and the duty of Abolitionists as affected thereby. True, it seemed probable then that Mr. Lincoln would be renominated, but whether upon a Conservative or a Radical platform, who could tell? Nor was it known at that time that the Democratic party would not declare for the prohibition of slavery by Constitutional Amendment; and certainly it was not foreseen that a Convention called by "Radical Abolitionists," would echo the false and infamous cries of the Copperheads in regard to "arbitrary arrests," "right of asylum," "habeas corpus," etc., seeking by that means to win the favor and support of the pro-slavery Democracy. The resolutions accidentally passed in Boston six months ago cannot be our guide in the presence of events not then unfolded. Our duty, we conceive, is, to apply to these new conditions the fundamental principles which have guided the Anti-Slavery movement from the beginning, and govern ourselves accordingly. As for the resolutions of the Pennsylvania Executive Committee, we think Mr. Davis would not find it an easy task to show wherein we have violated either their letter or their spirit. Those resolutions, as we understand them, were intended to admonish Abolitionists to persevere in the use of those moral and spiritual weapons which have proved so potent in the past, and to warn them against the danger of being swerved from the "old paths" by political partisanship. If one class of Abolitionists more than another should feel themselves rebuked thereby, is it not the one whose members, as if distrustful of the old anti-slavery instrumentalities, are laboring to organize a new political party, attending political Conventions, and suffering themselves to become involved in the intrigues of partisan leaders? *We* certainly were not of the number who went to Cleveland or elsewhere to attend a political Convention, nor have we taken any part in the nomination of any Presidential candidate. We have indeed expressed our honest opinion of the platforms and the candidates now before the people, and in so doing we have obeyed the injunction of the Pennsylvania Executive Committee, contained in the resolutions to which Mr. Davis directs our attention, and which is expressed in these terms: "While we erect no political platform, we regard it as the imperative duty of our Anti-Slavery associations to watch with undiminished vigilance, and criticize with unswerving justice, every political party and leader and measure, in all their relations to the cause of the slaves' emancipation." We accept this with all our heart as a clear definition of our duty in the present crisis, and to the day of Jubilee; and if the friends of the cause at any time think we come short of fulfilling that duty, we hope they will be faithful in admonishing us.

A word now in reply to the charge that we "do not represent" the American Anti-Slavery Society in the position it took at the last annual meeting. Of course we admit the right of that Society, or of its Executive Committee, to instruct us in our duty as Editor of The Standard, and that we are bound to obey or resign. But was it ever understood that the Editor is bound to be the champion of sentiments expressed in a resolution which in no way involves the fundamental principles of the cause, and in respect to which the Society itself is not agreed? The very idea is absurd; but, waiving this point, we deny that our course, in the particulars whereof Mr. Davis complains, is inconsistent with the resolution to which he asks our attention. What was that resolution? This is the essential portion of it, viz: "We (the Am. A. S. Society) see no evidence of the purpose of the Administration to place the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril." As explained by Mr. Phillips at the time, the resolution meant this: Equal suffrage for the negro is the only basis that can make his freedom secure against every peril; and we see no evidence of the purpose of the Administration to permit him to come to the ballot-box. Have we contradicted this resolution in any particular? Have we at any time pretended that the Administration was or is in favor of admitting the emancipated slaves to come at once to the ballot-box? Have we even said a single word to blunt the edge of the Society's rebuke, as expressed in that resolution? Not a word. So far as we have commended the Administration, we have done so upon other grounds entirely. The simple truth is, Negro Suffrage is not in issue in the present political struggle, no party being committed to the measure. The phrase, "equality of all men before the law," adopted at Cleveland, is altogether equivocal; from the mouths of politicians of the stripe of John Cochrane it cannot be accepted as a pledge to give the ballot to the negro. The party that would claim our votes as the friend of that measure must express its purpose in plain terms, and not be ashamed to call the negro by name. Mr. Phillips's resolution, therefore, has no relation whatever to the political issues of the present moment, which were not and could not have been foreseen at the time of its adoption. In the course we are pursuing in regard to the political parties we violate neither the letter nor the spirit of that resolution, but follow alike the principles and the practice of the Society as illustrated in all its past history.

If Mr. Davis asks us why we do not condemn the Administration for not pledging itself to admit the emancipated slaves at once to the ballot-box, our reply is, that the Abolitionists have never set up any such claim in their behalf. We think it would hardly be fair in us to arraign the political parties for not proposing a measure which even the Abolitionists, in their warfare of the last thirty years, have not only not advocated, but constantly disclaimed.

3. We do not know why the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is under any more obligation than that of Pennsylvania to celebrate the Fourth of July or the First of August. That its celebrations in former years were highly edifying and useful there is no doubt, but whether it would be wise or not to continue them is a question that may well be left to the decision of its Board of Managers, the members of which are on the spot and more competent, we should think, than those at a distance to weigh all the circumstances of the case. Mr. Davis assumes to know the motives that prompted the action of our Massachusetts friends in this matter, and to lecture them accordingly. We live somewhat nearer to Boston than he does, but perhaps he has sources of information inaccessible to us, and is therefore qualified, as we are not, to declare the motives that governed the action of our friends in that quarter. We think, however, that it would be well, as a general rule, for the Abolitionists of one State not to be too ready to judge those of another in matters purely local.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF BOSTON.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Destiny and choice have made and keep me a resident of the country. But it happened to me to be in the city of Boston the other day, when the annual visitation and exhibition of the public schools took place, in one of which I had myself, many years ago, been a pupil. I was induced to attend the exhibition of one of these schools, and would like to tell you and your readers somewhat of that which I heard and saw, during the day. In the large upper hall of the very spacious school-building were collected the several teachers of the school, male and female, and the pupils of the class which had completed their terms of study there, and were about to leave for higher schools or other occupations. Besides these was a large assembly of parents and friends of the scholars. Punctually at eight and a half o'clock, the exercises commenced, and continued until nearly eleven, during which time a rapid and general questioning on all the various branches of instruction at schools of that grade took place, met by the sixty or seventy pupils of the class with the promptest and most satisfactory answers. At the close, some twelve of the pupils, whose scholarship and conduct during the whole term of their attendance at the school were considered to entitle them to the distinction, received the *Franklin Medal*—an annual object of great interest to the pupils of the Boston public schools, being provided from a fund left by Dr. Franklin to the *town* of Boston for this purpose. It was an interesting and instructive fact, that, among the twelve pupils of this school receiving these medals, one was the grandson of a wealthy and distinguished citizen, a gentleman whose scholarly acquirements and classic eloquence have made him well-known through our land and abroad, and another was the son of a humble and hard-working German mechanic. And this is simply an illustration of what the New England system of public schools must and does develop everywhere—the children of the Irish emigrant to our shores receiving the same opportunities of instruction that are possessed by the children of the most affluent and eminent of our own people.

Beautiful was the sight in the afternoon, when twelve hundred of the most advanced of the pupils, selected from all the city schools, assembled in the spacious Music Hall, at the Seventy-first Annual School Festival of Boston. Tiers of seats, rising from the front of the stage to a level with the upper balconies at the sides and rear of the hall, received these children, beautiful in their youth, their bright and happy faces, their neat and tasteful attire. Formerly on these occasions the City gave a dinner to the medal scholars only, in Faneuil Hall. Now it substitutes a Musical Festival, bestows a handsome bouquet upon each medal scholar, enables a much larger number of pupils to take part in the occasion, and affords to a great audience of parents and others one of the most charming entertainments of the year. These twelve hundred children, under the leadership of Mr. Carl Zerrahn, and accompanied by the Organ and an Orchestra, sang together six or seven pieces in admirable time and style—among them, *The Lord's Prayer*, the choral "*A Strong Castle is our God*," Handel's "*Hallelujah Chorus*," the "*Star Spangled Banner*," etc. Addresses occurred, in the intervals, by the Chairman of the Festival Committee, the Mayor of the City, President Hill of Harvard College, and Rev. Dr. Bartol, of the West Church. When the procession of medal pupils, entering the hall on one side and passing across the stage into the balconies, received from the Mayor his congratulation and a handsome bouquet of flowers each, it was a compensation to an old Abolitionist like myself, for many years of work amidst discouragement and unbelief, to see several colored girls approach, each with the Franklin medal upon her neck, and receive with the others the Mayor's award. When the first of these appeared—a fine-looking girl of about fifteen, dressed as becomingly, and in all respects appearing as well as any in the hall—an

involuntary burst of applause, starting in the balconies, rose from every part of the hall, and seemed to express the satisfaction and joy of all present that the evil spirit of proscription for color had been cast out, and that Boston could show so fair and noble a proof that she would at length make reparation to her colored population for all her former neglect and wrong. So pleased was I at being a witness of this, that I could not refrain from writing it to you.

Your Constant Reader.

THE WATERLOO MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Your Peterboro correspondent, of July 20, is in error in each particular in which I am made the subject of his criticism.

1. I was not the author of the report of the meeting to which he alluded.

2. It is untrue that "nearly all the printed resolves were from Mr. Powell's pen." Of the series of ten, which you published (as pertinent to the columns of The Standard), four only were from my pen.

Very truly yours, A. M. Powell.

Ghent, N. Y., July 30, 1864.

Syracuse, August 1, 1864.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Dear Sir: No resolution like the one referred to in last week's Standard by "C. A. H." was offered in my presence at the Waterloo meeting. If it had been, I certainly would have voted for it. Mr. Hammond did offer a resolution in substance as follows: That war was the only feasible means that can be employed in putting down the rebellion. And the resolution was laid on the table. As to the other charges in Mr. Hammond's communication against Mr. Powell, and Mr. Mills, chairman of the meeting, I cannot speak from personal knowledge, not having been present but one day. But from what I learn I believe they are as far from the truth as the one I refer to above.

The key to Mr. Hammond's dissatisfaction with the proceedings he reveals when he says he was "not *honored* with a place on the Business Committee." If I may be allowed a vulgar phrase, "That's what's the matter."

H. L. Green.

Copper in the A. B. C. F. M.—A writer in *The Evening Post*, while admitting the claims of the Missionaries of the American Foreign Mission Board to the support of Christians in America, reminds the Prudential Committee that Christian patriotism cannot regard them with hearty sympathy "while in their position of trust and influence are those who defend slavery and condemn the war, who offer no prayers for victory to our arms, and confusion and defeat to our enemies, who not only don't include the colored man in their supplications, but absolutely employ their wit and sarcasm at those who do, who, to our certain knowledge, seek to control public prayer meetings, so that they shall not be offensive to persons with 'south side views'; in short, who employ their learning, piety, social position, and every other element of personal influence, in favor of the South, inspiring it with zeal and confidence, and adding just so much to the fearful burden forced—wickedly forced—upon us."

The writer adds:

"Our convictions are that such men as these, if allowed to remain North, certainly should not be permitted to occupy high positions of honor and influence. They poison the atmosphere which surrounds them, so that loyal men cannot breathe in it. Fortunately this element in the direction indicated is not large. Should it exist there at all? It may claim to be loyal—it is that pseudo loyalty always more or less identified with pro-slavery views, and known by all earnest men to be practically more dangerous to our cause than many armed men!

"The American Board have a duty in this regard which they owe themselves, those for whom they act, the cause in which they serve, and 'our country the hope of the world.' The discharge of that duty will be followed by new strength, elasticity and vigor in that body; will give a healthful impulse to the cause of freedom and sound religion, be deemed eminently just by our foreign missionaries (who are intensely interested in our great trouble and do not fail to recognize slavery as the sole cause thereof), will meet the approval of the anti-slavery Christians of England who have so positive an interest in some of our missions as to grant them substantial aid, and will influence increased contributions."

This hint to the American Board to purge itself of the pro-slavery, semi-treasonable element that has so long been prominent in the management of its affairs will attract the attention, we think, of some of its liberal supporters; but whether it will have the desired effect is doubtful.

Caste in the Church.—We copy the following paragraph from the Wilmington (Del.) *Inquirer:*

"The Delaware Conference of Ministers of color connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church met in the John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, in Philadelphia, on Thursday. Rev. Bishop Janes presided. Under an act of the late General Conference held in that city, the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have authority to organize colored preachers into Annual Conferences, having the same privileges and powers of other Annual Conferences, *except they shall have no representation in the General Conference, shall not participate in the proceeds of the Book Concern, and shall not vote upon any constitutional question touching changes in the discipline.* This is the first Conference that is held under the new law, and we doubt not its session will be of interest to the friends of progress in the colored race."

It seems that the Methodist Church, although it has prohibited slavery within its pales, yet regards its colored members as an inferior caste, to be kept by themselves, and not permitted to enjoy the same rights and privileges that are secured to white Methodists. While this spirit prevails in the most influential Churches, is it any wonder that the negro is in many places denied his rights in the public conveyances, and that Copperheads, high and low, hiss at him as if he were only a brute in man's shape?

Colorado Jewett Repudiated.—As an irresponsible person, who has recently been acting as an agent and messenger for the rebel emissaries in Canada, is assiduously laboring, and apparently with some success, to create the impression that he acts by virtue of a certain implied understanding or connection with the Executive Mansion, we (Washington *Chronicle*) deem it not improper to state that he has never received from the President the slightest recognition; that Major Hay, at Niagara, expressly declined to meet him, and that the only letter he has ever received from the Executive Office, in answer to his voluminous communications, is the following:

Executive Mansion, Washington, July 18, 1864.

Sir: In the exercise of my duties as secretary in charge of the President's correspondence, it is necessary for me to use a certain discretion in the choice of letters to be submitted to the personal inspection of the President. In order to avoid a further waste of time on your part, I have to inform you that your letters are never so submitted. My proceeding in this matter has the sanction of the President. I am, sir, very truly, your obedient servant, John Hay.

Wm. Cornell Jewett, etc., etc., etc.

The Springfield *Republican* would not report the address of George Thompson at Williamstown College, saying that it "was not probably worth reporting." But I observe it has reported his subsequent address at Amherst College at considerable length. The cause and motive of the change are so obvious that no credit can be given to *The Republican.* It hates George Thompson now with the same base and vulgar spirit which caused it, fourteen years ago, to excite and lead a murderous mob against him; but it dares not insult him longer, when the honorable and loyal sentiment of its region are so nearly unanimously determined to do Mr. Thompson solid (if tardy) justice, and when the three great colleges in its neighborhood, at Amherst and Williamstown in Massachusetts, and Middletown in Connecticut, unite in rendering honors to him. Shame on the base spirit which still controls that paper, in spite of all the proofs which the last three years have furnished that slavery has always been the mortal foe of our Union, our peace, and our welfare, and that they who sought to fix our attention on this fact have deserved, not censure and insult at our hands, but gratitude and respect. M.

Sojourner Truth left Michigan, we understand, some time since, bound on a mission to the Freedmen. We have been looking for her arrival for some days past, but she has not yet made her appearance. She is probably detained at some point on the route, her advanced age making it necessary for her to travel slowly. Her grandson, twelve years old, accompanies her. A friend in Detroit asked her: "Sojourner, how *will* you make your way from Detroit to Washington?" Looking calmly into the eye of the questioner, she replied: "Child, don't you know that all there is of Sojourner is devoted to the Lord? And do you think he will leave me unprovided with what I need? I take no heed of that." Verily such a faith must have a sure foundation and a sure reward.

Proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its Third Decade [thirty years from its formation], held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863, with an appendix, and a Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to 1863. An octavo pamphlet, of 175 pages. Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery offices, 48 Beekman st., New York; 106 North Tenth st., Philadelphia; and 221 Washington st., Boston. Price, *Fifty Cents.* On receipt of this sum, a copy will be sent, postage prepaid, to any given address.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

A REPULSE AT PETERSBURG.

On Saturday morning last Gen. Grant exploded a mine under the rebel works at Petersburg. The explosion, which was delayed beyond the appointed time, took place at 4.40 o'clock, and the roar of artillery which immediately followed is said to have been indescribably grand. At 5.30 the charge was made, and the fort with a portion of the line on each side, was carried in the most gallant manner. The second line, a short distance beyond the fort, was also attempted; but at this critical moment the colored troops, which had advanced in good order to the first line, wavered and broke under a galling fire. They were rallied and again pushed forward, but without success, most of their officers being killed or wounded. Their losses were very severe. Their struggle continued for some time, but the rebels had such great advantage that the highest efforts were unavailing. The reserve were not ordered to advance, and our troops fell back as best they could. Our losses in the affair, not including the missing, are estimated at 2,500.—*Times.*

GEN. SHERMAN'S OPERATIONS.

Full and connected reports have been received of the grand military operations before Atlanta, from the 18th to the 24th ult. On the 18th all the army had been moved across the Chattahoochee. On the 20th Gen. McPherson cut the railroad at Decatur, between Atlanta and Augusta, severing all communications by railroad from Atlanta, except by the Macon route. On the same day Gen. Thomas's three corps, the Twentieth, Fourth and Fourteenth, occupied the line of Peachtree Creek, running east and west about five miles north of the city. Gen. Hooker, with his corps, effected a crossing with but little resistance. Gens. Ward and Williams's division occupied the right and left, and Gen. Geary's division the centre, a few hundred yards in advance. While Ward and Williams were endeavoring to join Gen. Geary, his extreme right was assailed by the enemy.

RAID INTO PENNSYLVANIA.

The new raid into Pennsylvania promises to come to an end as inglorious as that of its predecessor, while the substantial advantage to the rebels in the way of plunder is supposed to be much less. The invaders have committed more wanton outrages upon property than ever before. They have laid Chambersburg in ashes, and committed other excesses, of which full accounts will be found in the daily papers. The latest intelligence indicates the withdrawal of the rebel forces from the State, in the direction of Bedford Springs. Maj.-Gen. Couch was on Monday in the western part of Pennsylvania, making a reconnoissance of the defences on the Monongahela and Ohio rivers. Before proceeding to Pittsburg he examined several points along the Pennsylvania Railroad, and gave directions for covering the border of the counties along the Maryland line in that direction. Maj.-Gen. Cadwallader is in command of the forces and fortifications in the eastern part of the State, and is inaugurating the most active measures to meet any emergency that may occur. The entire force which entered and burned Chambersburg is now stated to have consisted of but 208 men. The report that Gen. Averill had defeated the rebels very severely at McConnelsburg is confirmed.

THE MARYLAND SYMPATHIZERS.

There were two noticeable features in Early's last raid into Maryland. One was the large numbers of his men who deserted while north of the Potomac. It is estimated that where Early received one recruit to his forces, he lost fifty men by desertion. Another feature was that many of the rebel sympathizers took up arms to expel the invading rebels. The Maryland secessionists were for a long time a formidable body; but even they have at last become disgusted with their whilom friends from the South. A correspondent of the *Times,* in Maryland, who is well acquainted with the state of feeling there, says that the Maryland sympathizers have been cajoled and deceived and abused and robbed by their own party until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue, and they have turned upon those who smote them. Many of these men are the most bitter enemies the rebels have in Maryland, and were the first to take up arms against Early's ruffians.

The Army and the Negroes.

"Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE NEGRO TROOPS IN THE LATE ASSAULT UPON PETERSBURG.

In the late unsuccessful assault upon Petersburg the black troops under command of Brig.-Gen. White, were placed directly in the rear of the assaulting column. After the white troops, column after column, had been repulsed, it was the turn of the negroes to advance. The correspondent of *The Times* says:

"The colored troops, upon the heels of this repulse, were ordered to charge, and they moved out gallantly. A hundred yards gained and they wavered. Then the Thirty-ninth Maryland Regiment which led, became panic-stricken and broke through to the rear, spreading demoralization swiftly. Their officers urged them, entreated them, threatened them, but failed to rally them, and the mass, broken and shattered, swept back like a torrent into the crater which was already choked with white troops. The confusion incident to this wholesale crowding and crushing of the negro soldiers into the ranks of the white troops, very nearly caused the panic to spread. Had such been the result it might have been fortunate, and many a brave fellow who afterwards fell, might have escaped his fate. But at the moment the rebel fire, which had been murderously directed upon the place, materially slackened, and the white soldiers recovered their stamina. Our lines were once more straightened, and just in time to check an impetuous charge, which was afterwards repeated, and with a similar result of heavy loss to the assailants.

When the negro division advanced to the charge, they were supported on the right of the Prince George Court-house Road by Turner's division of the Tenth Corps, which gallantly advanced a long way beyond the spot where the negroes broke, and strove unavailingly to breast the storm of their retreat.

The *Tribune* corespondent says:

"At 9 o'clock Ferrero's division of colored troops were brought up to dislodge the enemy from the hill, and, from the gallant style in which they came up, it was believed that their attempt would be successful. Subjected to the same severe ordeal as the white troops that had preceded them, they wavered a moment, and then breaking in disorder, in spite of the entreaties and threats of their officers, who behaved splendidly, they fell back in confusion through our lines, repulsed and demoralized. It was their first baptism in fire, and, when the severity of the ordeal is considered, the fact that they did fall back is a matter of no great surprise. Finally rallying, they again advanced toward the front, but in vain; it was only to again fall back without the accomplishment of their purpose. Finding the position untenable, Gen. Grant, who had come up to the front before daybreak, ordered our lines to retire to their original position."

The *Herald* corrspondent says:

"It is pretty generally conceded that the ordeal to which they were subjected was too terrible for raw troops; and be it remembered that this is the first regular engagement of this body. Raw troops have sufficient enthusiasm to carry them through a charge; but for steady, deliberate fighting experienced troops are required. What would have been the consequence had the negro troops been assigned to the head of the column, with the object of carrying the first line, while the white troops were fresh to attack interior lines, it is now impossible to say; but certainly such a disposition of the troops would appear to be more prudent."

The losses in killed, wounded, and missing among the colored troops are thus estimated: 58 officers, 1,500 men.

From The Tribune.

The Associated Press telegram makes an effort to put the blame of failure on the negro troops, to whom, by their account, was entrusted the most difficult portion of the work. But it is clear enough the blame does *not* belong on the negroes. The position was assaulted first by white troops—when they had been repulsed, then by the negroes; so that both failed alike. And the losses, the enormous losses of the colored regiments, show beyond dispute that they fought bravely. Regiments coming out of action with 400 men killed and wounded are not to be charged with cowardice—except by Copperhead malignity, which nothing can ever modify on this question.

But suppose the negro troops had behaved badly. How many white regiments would have done better, going into action with the certainty that if taken prisoners they would be enslaved or murdered? When will the government assert the negroes' rights as soldiers?

A CALUMNY REFUTED.

The following extract from a letter to the Boston *Journal* will dispose effectually of the reiterated calumny that the negro troops encountered but slight obstacles in their well-known assault on the outer defences of Petersburg:

"A few days ago I sat in the tent of Gen. W. F. Smith, commander of the 18th Army Corps, and heard his narration of the manner in which Gen. Hinks's division of colored troops stood the fire and charged upon the rebel works east of Petersburg on the 16th of June. There were 18 guns pouring a constant fire of solid shot and shells upon those troops, enfilading the line, cutting it lengthwise and crosswise. 'Yet they stood unmoved *for six hours!* Not a man flinched. [These are the words of the General.] It was as severe a test as I ever saw. But they stood it: and when my arrangements were completed for charging the works, they moved with the steadiness of veterans to the attack. I expected that they would fall back, or be cut to pieces; but when I saw them move over the field, gain the works and capture the guns, I was astounded. They lost between 500 and 600 men in doing it. There is material in the negroes to make the best troops in the world, if they are properly trained.'

"These are the words of one of the ablest commanders and engineers in the service. A graduate of West Point, who, earlier in the war, had the prejudices which were held by many other men against the negro. He has changed his views. He is convinced, and honorably follows his convictions, as do all men who are not stone blind and perversely willful."

THE COLORED TROOPS BEFORE PETERSBURG—MORE TESTIMONY.

Philadelphia, July 11, 1864.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press.

Sir: The following extracts from letters of officers of the colored troops before Petersburg give graphic accounts of the bravery of these troops in the late battles before that city:

Headquarters 22d U. S. Colored Troops,
In the Field, near Petersburg, Va., June 27, '64.

The problem is solved. The negro is a man, a *soldier*, a hero. Knowing of your laudable interest in the colored troops, but particularly those raised under the immediate auspices of the Supervisory Committee, I have thought it proper that I should let you know how they acquitted themselves in the late actions in front of Petersburg, of which you have already received newspaper accounts. If you remember in my conversations upon the character of these troops, I carefully avoided saying anything about their fighting qualities till I could have an opportunity of trying them.

That opportunity came on the 15th inst., and since, and I am now prepared to say that I never, since the beginning of this war, saw troops fight better, more bravely, and with more determination and enthusiasm. Our division, commanded by General Hinks, took the advance on the morning of the 15th inst., arrived in front of the enemy's works about 9 o'clock, a.m., formed line, charged them, and took them most handsomely. Our regiment was the first in the enemy's works, having better ground to charge over than some of the others, and the only gun that was taken on this first line was taken by our men. The color-sergeant of our regiment planted his colors on the works of the enemy, a rod in advance of any officer or man in the regiment. The effect of the colors being thus in advance of the line, so as to be seen by all, was truly inspiring to our men, and to a corresponding degree dispiriting to the enemy. We pushed on two and a half miles further, till we came in full view of the main defences of Petersburg. We formed line at about two o'clock p.m., reconnoitred and skirmished the whole afternoon, and we were constantly subject to the shells of the enemy's artillery. At sunset we charged these strong works and carried them. Major Cook took one with the left wing of our regiment as skirmishers, by getting under the guns and then preventing their gunner from using their pieces, while he gained the rear of the redoubt, where there was no defence but the infantry, which, classically speaking, "skedaddled." We charged across what appeared to be an almost impassable ravine, with the right wing all the time subject to a hot fire of grape and canister, until we got so far under the guns as to be sheltered, when the enemy took to their rifle-pits as infantry men. Our brave fellows went steadily through the swamp, and up the side of a hill, at an angle of almost fifty degrees, rendered nearly impassable by fallen timber. Here again our color-sergeant was conspicuous in keeping far ahead of the most advanced, hanging on to the side of the hill, till he would turn about and wave the stars and stripes at his advancing comrades; then steadily advancing again under the fire of the enemy till he could almost have reached their rifle pits with his flag-staff. How he kept from being killed I do not know, unless it can be attributed to the fact that the party advancing up the side of the hill always has the advantage of those who hold the crest. It was in this way that we got such a decided advantage over the enemy at "South Mountain." We took, in these two redoubts, four more guns, making, in all, five for our regiment, two redoubts, and part of a rifle-pit as our day's work. The 5th, 6th, and 7th U. S. Colored Troops advanced against works more to the left. The 4th U. S. Colored Troops took one more redoubt, and the enemy abandoned the other. In these two we got two more guns, which made, in all, *seven.* The 6th Regiment did not get up in time, unfortunately, to have much of the sport, as it had been previously formed in the second line. We left 43 men wounded and 11 killed in the ravine over which our men charged the last time. Our loss in the whole day's operations was 143, including six officers, one of whom was killed. Sir, there is no underrating the good conduct of these fellows during these charges; with but a few exceptions, they all went in as old soldiers, but with more enthusiasm. I am delighted that our first action resulted in a decided victory.

The commendations we have received from the Army of the Potomac, including its general officers, are truly gratifying. Hancock's corps arrived just in time to relieve us (we being out of ammunition) before the rebels were reinforced and attempted to retake these strong works and commanding positions, without which they could not hold Petersburg one hour, if it were a part of Grant's plan to advance against it on the right here.

General Smith speaks in the highest terms of the day's work, as you have doubtless seen, and he assured me, in person, that our division should have the guns we took as trophies of honor. He is also making his word good in saying that he could hereafter trust colored troops in the most responsible positions. Colonel Ames, of the 6th U. S. C. T., and our regiment, have just been relieved in the front, where we served our tour of forty-eight hours in turn with the other troops of the corps. While out, we were subjected to some of the severest shelling I have ever seen, Malvern Hill not excepted. The enemy got twenty guns in position during the night, and opened on us yesterday morning at daylight. Our men stood it, behind their works of course, as well as any of the white troops. Our men, unfortunately, owing to the irregular feature of the ground, took no prisoners. Sir, we can *bayonet* the enemy to terms on this matter of treating colored soldiers as prisoners of war far sooner than the authorities at Washington can bring him to it by negotiation. This I am *morally persuaded* of. I know further that the enemy won't fight us if he can help it. I am sure that the same number of white troops could not have taken those works on the evening of the 15th; prisoners that we took told me so. I mean prisoners who came in after the abandonment of the fort, because they could not get away. They excuse themselves on the ground of *pride;* as one of them said to me, "*D—d if men educated as we have been will fight with niggers, and your government ought not to expect it.*" The real fact is, the rebels will not stand against our colored soldiers when there is any chance of their being taken prisoners, for they are conscious of what they justly deserve. Our men went into these works after they were taken yelling "Fort Pillow!" The enemy well knows what this means, and I will venture the assertion that that piece of infernal brutality enforced by them there has cost the enemy already two men for every one they so inhumanly murdered.

Extract from another Letter.

As I am not writing a strictly formal letter I shall take the liberty to express the satisfaction that we all feel that, at last, Congress has acknowledged the worth of our troops as soldiers and are one step nearer owning their rights as men. Whether or not the action of June 15th had anything to do with the voice of the House in passing the "Equalizing Act," I cannot say. And as the ultimate end is now obtained, it perhaps matters but little. Still I could have wished that our lawgivers had meted out justice for Justice's sake, and not as a matter of policy and expediency. But that it is passed at all is a matter of wonder to some of us, and of congratulation to all. We feel that if our boys fought so well when laboring under a feeling of doubt, *almost* of despondency, as to the course government would pursue with them, we would not fear for their valor when they are stimulated by a feeling of hope and public appreciation. You have doubtless read and heard much of their conduct during the engagement of June 15th; but, as a general thing, the newspapers give but a partial view. To appreciate fully what they did one must remember that it was not a charge made suddenly on first finding the enemy, and while all was enthusiasm, but that for five long hours, they were subjected to a heavy cannonade of shot and shell, all the time cautiously approaching—walking—creeping—crawling in the *very dust,* by regiment, by company, and almost man by man. Five hours were spent in crossing an open, almost level field a quarter of a mile in width. But under all this fire they remained perfectly bidable, and when the order to charge came, they were as ready to obey and as enthusiastic to rush on as any soldiers could be.

From another Letter.

* * * * The Johnnies are not as much afraid of us as they are of the Mokes (*i. e.,* colored troops). When they charge they will not take any prisoners, if they can help it. Their cry is, "Remember Fort Pillow!" Sometimes, in their excitement, they forget what to say, and when they catch a man they say: "Remember what you done to us, way back, down dar!"

On the road stop at a farm-house, and ask the darks where the proprietor is, the answer returned is: "Marsa gwan to Petersburg, and so is all the rest ob de family." ****

INJUSTICE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

Army of the Potomac, July 20, 1864.

As bearing with much pertinence and force upon the questions touching negro troops, and for the sake of the information contained concerning their management in the Department of the Gulf, I make the following extracts from a letter received here, which has fallen under my eyes. The writer has a colored command in Louisiana, and writes to his brother, an officer in this army. I extract only those paragraphs that have relation to black soldiers. The letter is under date of July 3, 1864:

"* * * * * Then, too, I believe in Gen. Butler's proper will and understanding upon the colored question. Gen. Smith, too, I am gratified to see, is converted at last, and that by the handsome conduct of the black troops under his command. By George! It was glorious—just the thing.

"It was most fit and proper that just that thing should happen, that good conduct and very useful service of the colored men. We actually envy you and the men of your corps, we feel as if you had done rather more than your fair share of the hard fighting, and were monopolizing too much of that sense of satisfaction to which men are entitled who have nobly done their whole duty in a trying time—and all this to *our* exclusion, for we *are* excluded. We have done literally nothing but stand agape, or rest upon our spades, and wait for news of your exploits. That is our feeling—it is that we have been deprived of a share in just these services which your colored troops have lately rendered to the country—and made the country resound with the fame of it, too. * * * *Why don't they order us to go up and help you!* The only thing they give colored troops here to do in the way of duty, is fatigue duty, working on the forts, etc., while not a white man of all the thousands of enlisted soldiers here until yesterday has been required to lift a spade. No military or other necessity can justify this. There is a whole brigade of 'us' here, but we are not drilled in tactics, are not being prepared for fighting, not being qualified to meet the murdering wretches of Fort Pillow on equal terms. Who can guarantee that some day we may not be *compelled* to meet them? You know me well enough to understand that I am not likely to shrink under *any* circumstances, favorable or unfavorable, but I *demand the right* for my people to be disciplined as fighting soldiers. I demand their right to be prepared for every exigency, and then to be put forward in line of battle side by side with the heroes of Petersburg, and not left like rats in a hole, like sheep in a pen, to be butchered with impunity at future Fort Pillows. It was not much better at Port Hudson, nor any wise different at Baton Rouge. In this Department colored troops have everywhere been treated as though their business was to be exclusively digging and not fighting.

"I'll tell you what I think. I think, under such circumstances, it were a cowardly act to give them arms at all. It seems that they are armed, and some fighting is expected of them in some possible contingencies, say in a tight squeeze, when their help, or *anybody's* help, is gladly accepted. But, under ordinary circumstances, when the sky is clear, and there is no thick smoke of battle around, it is thought they are only fit to dig, or at least doubted whether they can be safely trusted to fight as soldiers, and therefore never sufficiently drilled to fight as soldiers. Look at the palpable absurdity of the thing—the English of which is a mixture of two mean things. One I have named above, when I called it *cowardly*, and I shall name the other when I call it *treachery*.

* * * * * "We have been ordered up here to relieve another colored brigade and to dig this fort. One plausible reason assigned for sending us was that we might get recruits and fill the regiments—all skeletons now. We have been here a fortnight, and not a solitary recruit has been gained, and we shall not get ninety here the next ninety days. It was so at Port Hudson, so at Baton Rouge, so at Alexandria and up Red River. The colored regiments are not recruited as they should and might be. * * * * *

"Of what use are we here? Cannot we be got away?

"Gen. Banks will never do anything for us; rely upon that. Gen. Emory don't care anything about us. Gen. Franklin is away on leave. Gen. Roberts would help us to get North if he stays, but I think he will soon leave. Gen. Ullman would like to see us filled up and drilled, but he is powerless.

"You see my reasons for wishing to get out of this department. They are, 1. Satisfied by six months' trial that we shall never be recruited, and, 2. Satisfied by six months' trial (and six months more before I joined) that they will never drill us for fighting, but use us mainly for fatigue and guard duty, even if we should be recruited. Do not doubt this, whatever pretense you may see made to the contrary.

"Now you are tired of this, and so am I. It is now the 'glorious fourth' before I have done. Send me a letter soon, and tell me about all your battles. God bless you, my dear brother, and keep you safe.

"Your affectionate brother, ———."

Now, the above statements and revelations by all who know the writer are accepted as unvarnished facts—facts which are all wrong and need righting.

Such outrageous violations of the teachings of the barest, baldest, commonest justice toward these black men, who have now proved themselves to be made of the sterner stuff of which soldiers are made, is simply despicable—as the writer declares, is "cowardly," is "treacherous." Moreover, "it is worse than a crime—it is a blunder." Let the responsibility be traced, and this wickedness and foolishness be instantly put away. An easy and proper solution of the case would be to forward those troops from that Department to this.

EQUALITY OF NEGRO AND WHITE SOLDIERS.

From The St. Louis Republican.

We made reference, a week or two ago, to a communication regarding substitutes and other matters connected with the probable coming draft, which was addressed by Hon. Wm. A. Hall to Col. Alexander, in charge of the chief conscription and enrollment office in this city. The communication was as follows:

Huntsville, Mo., July 3.

Col. Alexander, A. A. P. M. General:

Sir: At the request of a number of citizens, I would ask an early answer to the following questions:

1st. Will a negro be received as a substitute?

2d. Will a person subject to draft be received as a substitute?

3d. Will a person over or under the required age be received, if otherwise fit?

4th. Where shall the substitute be presented to exempt the person liable to draft?

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Wm. A. Hall, M. C.

The second and third of these inquiries were answered negatively, and the response to the fourth was that substitutes must be presented to the Board of enrollment in such Congressional District as the person desiring to offer the substitute had been last enrolled.

For proper official answer to the first question, the communication was forwarded to Washington. It was returned yesterday with the indorsement of Brig.-Gen. Fry, and forwarded to Judge Hall as follows:

Office A. A. Provost Marshal-General for Missouri, St. Louis, July 11, 1864.

Hon. Wm. A. Hall, M. C., Huntsville, Mo.:

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that on the 6th instant I forwarded to the Provost-Marshal-General, Washington, D. C., your communication to me dated the 3d instant, with a copy of my reply to you of the 6th instant. The papers have been returned to me with the following indorsement, viz.:

Provost-Marshal-General's Office,
Washington, D. C., July 18, 1864.

Respectfully returned to Col. E. B. Alexander, A. A. P. M. General, St. Louis, Mo., with the information that the law referred to in answer to first question of Mr. Wm. A. Hall has been repealed by a subsequent law allowing colored troops the same pay and bounties as whites. Colored men may, therefore, be accepted as substitutes for whites.

By command of the Provost-Marshal-General.

(Signed) Charles H. Broom,
First Lieut. 57th N. Y. Vols. A. A. A. G.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
E. B. Alexander,
Col. 10th U. S. Infantry, A. A. M. G.

NEW VICTORIES AND OLD WRONGS.

To the Editors of The Evening Post:

On the 2d of July, at James Island, S. C., a battery was taken by three regiments, under the following circumstances:

The regiments were the One Hundred and Third New York (white), the Thirty-third United States (formerly First South Carolina Volunteers), and the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts—the two last being colored. They marched at 1 a.m., by the flank, in the above order, hoping to surprise the battery. As usual, the rebels were prepared for them, and opened upon them as they were deep in one of those almost impassable Southern marshes. The One Hundred and Third New York, which had previously been in twenty battles, was thrown into confusion; the Thirty-third United States did better, being behind; the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, being in the rear, did better still. All three formed in line, when Col. Hartwek, commanding the brigade, gave the order to retreat. The officer commanding the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, either misunderstanding the order or hearing it countermanded, ordered his regiment to charge. This order was at once repeated by Major Trowbridge, commanding the Thirty-third United States, and by the commander of the One Hundred and Third New York, so that the three regiments reached the fort in reversed order. The color-bearers of the Thirty-third United States and of the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts had a race to be first in, the latter winning. The One Hundred and Third New York entered the battery immediately after.

These colored regiments are two of the five which were enlisted in South Carolina and Massachusetts, under the written pledge of the War Department that they should have the same pay and allowances as white soldiers. That pledge has been deliberately broken by the War Department, or by Congress, or by both, except as to the short period, since last New Year's day. Every one of those killed in this action from these two colored regiments—under a fire before which the veterans of twenty battles recoiled—*died defrauded by the government of nearly one-half his petty pay.*

Mr. Fessenden, who defeated in the Senate the bill for the fulfilment of the contract with these soldiers, is now Secretary of the Treasury. Was the economy of saving six dollars per man worth to the Treasury the ignominy of the repudiation?

Mr. Stephens, of Pennsylvania, on his triumphal return to his constituents, used to them this language: "He had no doubt whatever of the final result of the present contest between liberty and slavery. The only doubt he had was whether the nation had yet been satisfactorily chastised for their cruel oppression of a harmless and long-suffering race." Inasmuch as it was Mr. Stevens himself who induced the House of Representatives, most unexpectedly to all, to defeat the Senate bill for the fulfilment of the national contract with these soldiers, I should think he had excellent reasons for the doubt.

Very respectfully, T. W. Higginson,
Colonel 1st S. C. Vols. (now 33d U. S.)

Summary.

Greene Smith, Esq., son of the Hon. Gerrit Smith, has joined the army before Petersburg. He holds the commission of Second Lieutenant in the 14th New York Artillery. Mr. Smith is a young man of fine talents and excellent education.

Capital Punishment.—Queen Victoria has appointed commissioners to inquire into the expediency of abolishing capital punishment in England. Their report will be looked for with great interest all over the world. We hope it may be impartial and thorough.

The removal of M. Renan from his professor's chair in the College of France will not affect him personally, as he has already gained a large fortune by the sale of his "Life of Jesus." He will soon publish a "Life of the Virgin Mary." He will be succeeded as professor by M. Munk, a Jew, selected that Renan's removal may not be attributed to the influence of the priests.

Chivalrous Savages.—The Rebel Gen. Dick Taylor, in a congratulatory order to the soldiers of West Louisiana, recounting the defeat of Gen. Banks, makes use of the following elegant and chivalrous words: "Long will the accursed Yankee race remember the great river of Texas, and the changed hue of its turbid waters darkened with a liberal admixture of Yankee blood. The cold-blooded alligator and ravenous crawfish wax fat on the rich food, and our native vulture holds high revelry over many a festering corpse."

A Good Retort.—The New York *Journal of Commerce,* quoting the oft-repeated commonplace that "the Rebellion is on its last legs," asks peevishly how many legs the Rebellion has got. The Chicago *Tribune* answers:

"There is a leg in Ohio called Vallandigham, one in Chicago called *The Times,* two in New York, *The Journal of Commerce* and *World,* and one in Cincinnati, *The Enquirer,* beside two very lame legs at Richmond and Atlanta. The Northern legs are the most serviceable."

Henry Richards's "Life of Joseph Sturge," lately published in London, is a large volume of over six hundred pages, and closes with Whittier's memorial lines of Sturge, beginning

"By lone Edgbarton's side——"

It elicits much criticism both as a literary work and from the eccentricities of the subject—the really amusing mistakes sometimes made by Mr. Sturge, notwithstanding his really eminent philanthropy.

New Hampshire Senatorial Timber.—We spoke some weeks ago, of the moderate mental calibre of John P. Hale's successor in the U. S. Senate. It appears now that Mr. Cragin was recently a candidate for a door-keeper's place at Washington. One of the papers thinks he will be turning up as a porter or messenger in one of the departments when his term is over. With all his faults, we fear New Hampshire and the nation will regret the loss of John P. Hale in the Senate chamber.—*Roxbury (Mass.) Journal.*

Fashionable Treason.—It is said that secessionism runs riot at some of the principal watering-places. Women flaunt the rebel cockade in the faces of the more loyal, and the parlors resound with their rebel songs—at least so say the papers. Denunciation of the Union army and the Northern people by these secesh females is extremely annoying, and if not cured by summary legal processes the she-rebels are likely to have the watering-places to themselves—as no modest, patriotic lady can bear the remarks of such unblushing viragos, and no gentleman would condescend to exercise even his contempt upon them.

What a Widow Wood do!—There is a widow lady living in Douglas, seventy-four years old, who sawed and split five cords of seasoned wood in the course of last winter and spring. This old lady is in good circumstances, not compelled to labor, but cut said wood to benefit her health. When she first commenced her limbs were so stiff that she could not lift her feet without assistance from her hands; but by degrees, in sawing and splitting the wood, she entirely regained the use of her limbs and materially improved her health. The example of this lady is an evidence of what can be done by persistent efforts.

Disaffection in the Rebel Ranks.—C. A. P., correspondent of *The Tribune,* in a recent letter from the Army of the Potomac says:

"There are abundant proofs of wide-spread disaffection in the rebel ranks; that whole regiments are tired of the war, are convinced that they can never conquer, and are almost openly canvassing the propriety of desertion *en masse.*

"It would 'convey information to the enemy,' for me to state all that is known as to the prevalence and definitiveness of this feeling in the rebel army. It can be referred to only as a known fact, the evidence in support of which may not be given. Sufficient to say that it is circumstantial, concordant and cumulative, and will some day have its demonstration in accomplished facts."

What a Soldier can Save.—A private in the Thirteenth Maine regiment had on the allotment roll $10 per month reserved to be deposited in the Savings Bank, reserving only $3 per month to spend for himself. After twenty months' pay the allotment was discontinued. Two hundred dollars therefore were deposited. Out of the $3 per month, and by taking what money is allowed if clothing is not drawn, he managed to save and send home at one time, $25 for a watch and some other things, at another time $21, to be forwarded to his father in Nova Scotia. Within a few days $250 have come by express to be also deposited in the bank. The State and city bounties for re-enlistment are yet to be paid, which will swell the sum, with interest accrued, to upward of $750. At the close of the war at this rate he will have a big pile for himself. We commend this example for the imitation of all others of our brave soldiers in arms for the defense of our country. Economy and good habits are the secret of all this. Neither tobacco nor liquor has been used by him.—*Portland (Me.) Press.*

Question and Answer.—The N. Y. *Express* asks us—

"Suppose the South should insist upon the abolition of Unitarianism, or Universalism, or the Swedenborgian religion, North, before it would abolish slavery; or, the exclusion from the country of the Jews; or, the non-naturalization of emigrants from Ireland and Germany—what should we say to all that but this significantly—

"'Mr. South, all this is none of your business. If we of the North choose to walk on our heads, we will do it.'"

Answer.—Whenever Unitarianism, Universalism, or any other ism, foments a rebellion against the Union and its lawful authorities, setting up in our country a rival government, confederacy and flag, we hold that it will thereby make itself "our business," and will have to be put down and abolished. Every citizen is free to believe as he will or must; but if his belief makes him a traitor, we must put down his treason and guard against its revival. Will you print this?—*Tribune.*

Another New England Institution Down South.—One of the New York *Herald's* correspondents, writing from the front of Petersburg, says:

"The enemy, as can be gathered from the Southern papers, are congratulating themselves that we are suffering from a scarcity of water, and commiserate our soldiers and teams on account of the extra and fatiguing labor of bringing water to supply the army from the James and Appomattox rivers. Little know they of the fertility of Yankee enterprise and ingenuity, and its inherent power to make adverse circumstances yield subservience to its necessities. No New England village shows more wells than we have here, and angular poles, imitative of the old fashioned New England sweeps, are here, and the water—some of the wells are forty feet deep—is as cool, clear and refreshing as that drawn from the rocky depths of New England soil. The old-fashioned well curb and the moss-covered bucket and memories of thirst slackened in boyhood days are only wanting to furnish a theme for poet to indite living rhymes as immortal as that song of the late lamented Samuel Woodworth, 'The Old Oaken Bucket.'"

Distinguished Arrivals at the Bedford Springs.—An unusually large number of visitors were registered at these Springs last week. On Wednesday Miss Lane, Miss Harriet Buchanan, Dr. Henry Carpenter and James Buchanan arrived. A number of his friends from town went to the Mount Dallas station to meet him, and returned to the Springs with him. Gen. Buell, who is staying at the Springs, rode in the same carriage by the side of Mr. Buchanan. A "Col." Plume of Philadelphia was conspicuous on the occasion. *The "Colonel" is the person who swung his hat and hurrahed loudly in town, one day last week, when it was reported by the allies of the Rebels that Washington was captured.*—*Bedford (Pa.) Inquirer.*

—This "Col. Plume" will be recollected by many New Yorkers as spending some time in 1862 at Highland Light, N. J., and hailing from California. He then called himself a secessionist, and as such was on terms of daily intimacy with a McClellan Brigadier, who also sojourned there. The "Col." seems to find congenial society wherever he goes.—*Tribune.*

Pro-Slavery Democracy.—The "Democracy" of the IXth Congress District of Indiana recently held a Convention and nominated David Turpie to run against Schuyler Colfax for Congress. (Turpie was their candidate in '62, and beaten by 229 majority.) They resolved, among other things,

"That we oppose the Abolition policy of freeing and arming the slave against his master, as only tending to widen the breach between the States; and denounce every policy that will, directly or in its tendency, place the black upon political, military, or civil equality with the white."

—The "master" here referred to is a rebel, fighting under an alien flag to overthrow the government and disrupt the Union; while "slave" is a loyal patriot, willing to shed his blood for his and our country. These Democrats "denounce every policy" that tends to put this fighting Unionist on a "political, military or civil equality" with this traitor. Who can fail to see that they who thus resolve are hostile to the government, and at heart the allies of those who are fighting desperately to overthrow it?—*Tribune.*

A Felicitous Comparison.—Henry Ward Beecher has said few better things than the following which we find in one of his sermons:

"We have a large number of conservative persons among us, who in looking upon the condition of this nation, have great fear on account of the various destruction that takes place for the salvation of the country. In the first place, they are exceedingly troubled in regard to the destruction of the Constitution. To be sure, four million men have resurrection; four million men are touched with the light of the rising glory of liberty; but that is nothing. It is the breaking of the Constitution that they think of. An owl sits in a tree to see an eagle hatch its egg, and by-and-by, when the shell is cracked to let the young eagle out, the owl hoots, "Spoiling, *spoiling,* SPOILING the shell!" What is the shell to the eagle that is inside of it? and what is the Constitution but the shell of the spirit of liberty? It was ordained for liberty; and when it is broken, that the eagle, Liberty, may come forth, the owls hoot! They know the shell, but they do not know the eagle!"

Southerners in New York City.—This city swarms with men and women from the Southern States, refugees, blockade-runners, spies, released prisoners of war, secession speculators, relatives of rebel officers, and others. Some of them speculate in gold—some of them keep boarding houses—some of them live upon the charity of their acquaintances, and a majority of them exert the utmost of their efforts to discourage enlistments, lower the tone of patriotism, and give all the aid and comfort they can to the enemy. When it is possible to send contraband news to the rebels, they do so at any risk or cost. They do the trading with disloyal merchants and send ship loads of goods to blockaded ports. They are the principal operators in the money market, and the rise in the price of gold is due chiefly to their exertions. Their conversation is devoted mainly to the dispraise of our officers and men and highly-colored eulogy of the rebels in arms. Many of them are known to the detectives, who watch them closely and render it difficult for them to seize another Chesapeake or lead another riot. They go in and out day and night at the hotels and club-rooms where they meet each other, but they are not "unnoticed and unknown." Notwithstanding the high rate of rents and the consequent hegira into the country, there is scarcely an unoccupied tenement-house in the city. "To Let" is a sign seldom seen on the doors of dwelling-houses in New York, and these facts are owing to the number of persons who have come here from the seceded States. They swell the enlistment roll and increase our quota, but they will not render service in the army, and will not take the pains to have their names erased from the books of enlistment.—*Tribune.*

"Abe" and "Andy."—The Philadelphia *Inquirer* has the following:

"The following communication was received in this city yesterday morning. The applicant, Norman Doane, an Indiana volunteer, asks for a furlough of twenty or thirty days in order to visit his wife and twins, boys, recently born, which he designs having christened 'Abe' and 'Andy.' The document had passed through the War Department, from which place it was referred to the Adjutant-General's office, then to the Medical Director's Department, where it was reported that he had been transferred to this city. The document was then sent back to the Military Commander at Washington, from thence to the Adjutant-General's office, and then to General Couch in this department. The Medical Director in this department finally referred the matter to the surgeon in charge of the hospital in which the patient was confined, who immediately granted the applicant the furlough. This report has to go back through the same channel to the War Department.

"Judiciary Square Hospital, Ward 15,
Washington City, D. C., June 23, 1864.

"Dear Sir: The Union is saved. Hurrah!

"Make room in Abraham's bosom!

"My wife has twins. Both boys!

"Do please grant me a furlough for twenty or thirty days to go to Fort Wayne, Ind., to christen them Abe and Andy; and besides, I would like to know if they look like me.

"I am not so sick now. A few days at home will do me more good than six months in the hospital. Should any references be required on patriotism and public services, Schuyler Colfax, on domestic relations, Mrs. Doane.

Very respectfully, Normain Doane,
"Private, signed Corporal U. S. A.

"P. S.—The little presents necessary upon such occasions need not be sent till after the 4th of March next, when Andy will be present also. N. D."

Industry and its Reward.—*The Journal of Commerce* this morning in bidding a pleasant "good-by to Mr. Downing," the well-known oyster man, who has lately given up business, says truly that "few men are more widely known than Mr. Downing, and we might add more generally respected." It goes on to speak of his life of patient industry, and thus moralizes upon its results:

"From an humble beginning in the business of 'cracking oysters,' Mr. Downing now surveys with complacency the fine row of stores bearing his name and owned by his son, in the heart of the flourishing city of Newport, R. I., besides holding in his own right ample resources on which to make his old age comfortable. *So true is it that industry and virtue have their reward.*"

In a free State—the *Journal* ought to have added; for if Mr. Downing had been a slave, he might have possessed all the virtues without "their reward," which the *Journal* counts so certain. If he had been a slave the *Journal* would have excused his master for robbing him of the fruits of his earnings; would have urged his return to slavery if he had fled; would have denied that he could possibly support himself without the aid of a master; would have called him a natural pauper, and written column-long moral essays to prove that Providence had rendered him incapable of attending to his own business. "So true is it" that industry and virtue have no reward except in a free State, and that yet men can be found blind enough to justify a system which rob the honest laborer of his return. So true is it that it is not his color but his condition as slave which makes the Southern negro hopeless.—*Eve. Post.*

Special Notices.

A Card.—Owing to the enormous advance in the prices not only of the precious metals, but of every other commodity, I find it impossible to continue longer the sale of my Pens at old rates. This I regret exceedingly, as I had hoped to continue without change; but, having to buy gold at the present fabulous prices, this is no longer possible.

My friends and the public will give me credit, however, for having struggled long and hard against the universal pressure to depreciate the Government credit and currency. The advance now made is not enough to cover me, with gold at present rates; should it remain where it is, or go still higher, a further rise in prices must be made. In any case, however, I intend, as heretofore, to sell a better article for less money than can be bought elsewhere.

A circular, with engravings of all the sizes, styles, and present prices will be sent on receipt of letter postage. Address A. Morton,

July 11, 1864. No. 25 Maiden-lane, New York.

Aaron M. Powell will lecture at
Peru, N. Y., Sunday, August 7.
Keeseville, N. Y., Tuesday, August 9.
Joy, N. Y., Wednesday, August 10.
West Peru, N. Y., Friday, August 12.
Plattsburg, N. Y., Sunday, August 14.
Burlington, Vt., Monday, August 15.
Ferrisburg, Vt., Tuesday, August 16.
Vergennes, Vt., Wednesday, August 17.
Moriah, N. Y., Thursday, August 18.
Athol, N. Y., Friday, August 19.
Glenn Falls, N. Y., Sunday, August 21.
Bellston, N. Y., Tuesday, August 23.

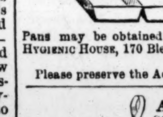
Advertisements.

WANTED, by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, TWENTY-FIVE TEACHERS—male and female—for service in Middle Tennessee and Northern Alabama. Rather more than one-half of the desired number should be men. Those who have had experience in teaching—other things being equal—will be preferred. Very young women are not desirable unless they can be accompanied by a brother, husband, father, or some one who will be regarded as their proper friend and protector. Applications should be sent with testimonials as to fitness, to

J. M. McKIM, Corresponding Secretary,
424 Walnut Street, Philadelphia

TO COLORED SOLDIERS—discharged—for wounds *Received in Battle,* $100 Bounty can be paid by bringing or sending Discharge to this Agency. Also the Difference of Pay between $7 and $13 per month, and other allowances due to all Discharged Colored Soldiers, and can be paid by Applying at this Office. Letters of Inquiries will be answered.

U. S. ARMY AGENCY, 64 Bleecker Street, N. Y. City,
(Opposite Pay Department.)



BREAD.—Invalids and others in want of a *Pure* Bread, made simply of unbolted Wheat, Rye, or Oat Meal, and Water, as *light* and more Sweet and Wholesome than Home-Made Bread, should use our Biscuit Pans, $1.00 per Dozen, or a Half Dozen, *Post-paid,* for $1.00. The Pans may be obtained or the Bread seen at any time at the Hygienic House, 170 Bleecker Street, N. Y.

WM. HUNT, Proprietor.

Please preserve the Address or send for a Circular.

ARTIFICIAL LEGS, BY E. D. HUDSON, M.D., Clinton Hall, UP STAIRS, Astor Place, New York. Soldiers provided by commission of the Surgeon General, U. S. A. HANDS of superior quality. FEET for limbs shortened by Hip-disease a great benefaction. Dr. H. having devoted his attention and practice for fourteen years to the subject of artificial limbs, has made such improvements upon the "Palmer Patent," the right to which is his by purchase, as to render his work in this branch of surgery superior to all others. Send for descriptive pamphlets

$225. SEVEN OCTAVE $225.

ROSEWOOD PIANO-FORTES.

GROVESTEEN & CO., 499 Broadway, New York.

New, enlarged Scale Piano-Fortes, with all latest improvements. Thirty years' experience, with greatly increased facilities for manufacturing, enable them to sell for CASH at unusually low prices. These instruments received the highest award at the World's Fair, and for five successive years at the American Institute. Warranted five years. Terms net cash. Call or send for descriptive circular.

PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.—Fine Photographs, 18 by 13 inches, of Paine's Pen-and-Ink Drawing of the Emancipation proclamation, handsomely illustrated. The original was donated to the Brooklyn Sanitary Fair, and by a subscription of $500 presented to the President of the United States. It is a beautiful and artistic work.

Canvassers wanted for every section of the country.
Copy-right secured apply to ROWLAND JOHNSON,
54 Beaver st., New York, 119 Market st., Phila.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

W M. H E A C O C K
GENERAL FURNISHING UNDERTAKER,
No. 18 North Ninth Street, West Side, Philadelphia.

Constantly on hand a general assortment of ready-made Coffins, and every requisite for Funerals furnished on the most accommodating terms.

☞ Lead Coffins furnished at the shortest notice. ☜

Lots, Half Lots, and Single Graves, in all the principal Cemeteries, for sale.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for his superiority over all others in the manufacture of Travelling Trunks, Carpet Bags, Valices, Gum Shoes, Coaches, Hobby Horses and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks of descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship. Black Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.

THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer,
402 Market st., one door above 4th, South side, Phila.

BUFFALO ROBES direct from the Indian country 5,000 robes for sale, wholesale or retail, at very low prices. Also Horse Blankets cheap and good. THOS. W. MATTSON.
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JONES & CO.

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

FEED THE FIRE!

BY AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

Northmen, feed your noble fire,
Till the light flames wider, higher,
Sphering earth in one grand glow
Of Freedom's pyrotechnic show!
Feeble stars, that cheered the midnight
Of oppression with their rays,
Drown them in the glorious daylight
Of your larger blaze!
And the woman hand so tender
Shall forget its feeble style,
Finding strength to bring its faggot
To your sacred pile.
Woman's soul, for civic action
Made (some think) too small by Heaven—
Head and hand too weak, men say,
For a ballot even.
Bounded thus, we give our poems,
Songs that burn with veins of fire;
Give the love that sacrifices,
Lifting up our heroes higher;
And we fan the flame and glare,
With the breath of constant prayer,
Till the angels *must* admire.

Northmen, let your flames reveal,
As they glow across the seas,
To the working-man his shadow,—
His half-shadow on its knees!
Let Him guess his upright stature
From the crouching picture cast,
Till he claims his height of nature,
And demands his dues at last!
Till the power of Caste shall tremble
At the courage of her slave,
At the phantom form of Freedom
Walking toward her o'er the wave!

Northmen, show the waiting nations
Truths that will not live half hid!
That the breast of a Republic
Feeds no social pyramid;
We can have no burdened masses,
No disfranchised host to rear
An aristocratic apex
Into an advantage sphere.
But the people form a circle,
Like a soul-wreath, wide and grand;
Freedom's platform's always level,
And upon her plain we stand.
Nations skilled in geomancy,
Frown and lower at the sign
Of this geometric figure
Of the People's circle-line.
Labor's hand is all too royal
Earthly throne and crown to rear;
Being free, we choose God's fashion;—
High hearts only tower here.
And the agent in our centre
So much power shall exercise
As he gathers from the meaning
Glowing in the People's eyes.

By the light of Freedom's war-fire,
Northmen, let the Old World see
That America, misshapen,
Drops her past deformity!
From her form unseemly, mongrel,
There were flashes all divine:
Showing how her future glory
Through its chrysalis could shine.
Now she brightens into splendor,
As she struggles up at last
From the dragon-skin that bound her,
Holding down her nature fast.
Eyes that burned on her with watching
Flash with rapture rays to see
The Republic rise transfigured;—
Rise to claim her just degree.
Grown too great in her sublimeness
For the close ravine she trod,
Lo! she presses to the hill-top,
And her face is turned to God!

—*Croydon, N. H.*

FALSE NOTIONS IN REGARD TO THE BIBLE.

The popular notions of the Bible will inevitably tend to produce doubt, distress, and infidelity, if they are not illumined. No man objects to the real design of Scripture. The truths of the Bible, as a book of the heart, for the training of the heart; as a book that undertakes to reconcile man to God; as a book that reveals the divine justice and love; that reveals immortality through Jesus Christ; that reveals the principles of right and wrong; that reveals the doctrine of punishment and reward—these great truths are potent, and almost universally accepted in their most generic forms. The attacks on the Bible are for the most part attacks upon the extravagant claims made for its teachings. Science, when it began to be found out, was opposed at every step. The priest stood saying, "This is not the doctrine of astronomy that the stars have revealed: this is the doctrine of astronomy that Genesis reveals." And the first battle of science on that subject was with the Scripture, which it pierced at every step. And how did the Scripture escape? For generations, in the hands of the priesthood, it has been the bulwark of ignorance. When humanity stepped in, it found, everywhere, selfishness and pride invested in the Church; and this selfishness and this pride said, "You have no right to preach your humanitarian doctrines, as you call them: the Bible does not teach them." And the Bible stood in the way of reformation in that direction. Why, at the very first step that we undertook to take in the movement for the abolition of slavery on this continent, did we not find the Old Testament piled higher than Lee's entrenchments in our path? And did we not have to contend with and overcome swarms of the sons of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob before we could get sons of Ham out of their bondage? And now, in Europe, when the kings and nobles grind the rich burghers, and the rich burghers grind the myriad mass, and the myriad mass seek to lift themselves up into their place as men, and to take in their place the light of God's glory, what is it that shadows them but this great open Bible, held at one corner by the priest, and at the other corner by the king? Even to-day, aristocracy and monarchy and papacy are entrenched behind the Bible. And if democracy is infidel in Europe, it is because of the prostitution of religion in the hands of the government and of the ecclesiastical authorities of Europe. And liberty there must do one of two things: it must be infidel, or it must for the time being be in bondage. And whose fault is it? It is the fault of the priests, the kings and the nobles; for they have shoved the Bible out of its sphere, and undertaken by it to justify legislation of the most oppressive character.

Now, if the Bible is to be put above all science and reformation, and men are to make it the bulwark of every mischief and iniquity, it cannot but be reviled and hated of men; but if the Bible is redeemed from such base uses, and is brought back to its sphere, it will be esteemed and revered by all who employ it. The Bible is each private man's own book. You know the priests once owned it. It was their property; and they took it under their arm, and walked off with it, as a man takes his bonds and mortgages under his arm and walks off with them, saying, "These are the titles to my property." They would let other men read a little of it, as a man lets his neighbors read a little of his bonds and mortgages, just to give them some idea of his wealth; but they owned it. They had pigeon-holes in which they tucked away their treasures, as a man has pigeon-holes in which he tucks away his papers. The rite of baptism was theirs; the Lord's Supper was theirs; all the ordinances of the Church were theirs; men were theirs, for that matter.

Now, the Bible is my book. I own it from Genesis to Revelation. And it owns me. I have a right to sit down in the sanctuary of my conscience, and under the illumination of the Holy Ghost, and read that Bible. And if I will take the consequences of my own faith, I have a right to that creed which my understanding gives me, without asking you or anybody else on the face of the globe what I may believe. No man is so much interested in my salvation or condemnation as I am; and I read my Bible at the peril of my immortality, and, if I choose to take the responsibility, that Bible is mine, for my private use. It is yours for your private use. It is every man's and every woman's, for his or her private use. You may go to a minister for light, or you may not. You may go to a commentary, or you may not. You do not need to go to a minister or a commentary. This is God's book for every individual, high or low, rich or poor, ignorant or instructed. You may stumble in it, or you may stumble outside of it. We are all making mistakes on every hand. But the Bible is our private chart to steer to heaven by. The priest, however, takes it out of that sphere in which it is a guide to each individual, and puts it in the sphere of authority and despotism.

Men say, "I do not believe the Bible." It is not the Bible that you doubt; it is the Bible *in the priest's hands*. So do I doubt it in the priest's hands. If a man takes the Bible and undertakes by it to destroy the great facts and undoubted truths of mental philosophy, he tends to make all that have accepted that philosophy sceptics in regard to the Bible. They say, "I know these things are true in mental philosophy, and if you say that your Bible is against them, there is but one way for me to do, and that is to reject your Bible." Yes, it is *his* Bible that you reject, and not *the* Bible; for *the* Bible is a book that is so constructed that it can never be set aside. Governments may rise and fall; but the Bible is not changed. Laws may come and laws may go; but the Bible is not changed. Science may build in the skies, and lay its foundations on the crystal pavements of the stars; science may build on the soft strata under the flood or on the land; science, flying, may sweep its pinions through the spaces of the air, and measure the winds by meteorologic laws; science may take up the human body, and estimate its various powers; science may go into the realm of the mind, and tell what is the law of conscience, what is the law of reason, what is the law of every part; science may go up or down, right or left; but it does not touch the Bible, that does not undertake to do these things. The Bible is standing and saying still, "Whatever may be your view of the reason, or the conscience, or the heart, you shall love God with that reason, with that conscience, and with that heart, and your neighbor as yourself." Here we are, in the outward world, by the help of God's revelation of nature, finding out physical things; and the Bible says, still, "All these physical things must be used for a spiritual purpose." It points to the fidelity of God, the love of Christ, the hope of immortality, and the reunion of men in blessedness hereafter. These great fundamental truths it insists upon.

"Well," you say, "that is a very small space for the Bible to occupy." How large a space does a candle occupy? Just a little hole in the candlestick. But when it shines out to the poor traveller that has lost his way in the morass at midnight, how far it reaches! And to him how much it means, when it guides him to a highway, and to a hospitable place of residence! And how much it means on a rocky shore, when it gives light to a thousand ships with their imperilled mariners! It means safety. It does an important office-work, although it requires but a small space to stand in. And although the Word of God does not cover much ground, the ground that it does cover is so vital, and it stands so connected with man's life here and hereafter, that it shines with a clear light. And he that takes heed to it will certainly find the harbor, the shore, the haven. It is transcendently important: in present and temporal and human respects not so important as men have supposed, but in future and eternal and spiritual respects a great deal more important than men have supposed.—*H. W. Beecher, Sermon in The Independent.*

GLORIOUS SCENE IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1864.

To the Editor of The Philadelphia Daily News.

It was my privilege, as it was my pleasure, to witness on the Fourth—the GLORIOUS Fourth—a scene that was as gratifying to the friend of human freedom as it was auspicious of the times. It was a celebration of the teachers and pupils of the colored Sabbath Schools of this District. The procession moved on the sidewalk, four abreast, and I should judge it to have been a mile long—from which you can form some idea of the numbers. A fine band preceded the procession, and amongst the happy and delighted pleasure-seekers were a goodly number of contrabands. They carried banners, with appropriate devices, and floated the proud flag of the nation. It was a procession of loyal people. There was not an enemy of his country in all that immense throng. Their patriotism was pure, and of a vastly higher order than that experienced or manifested by Copperheads. It may safely be affirmed that a similar procession, of equal numbers, among the whites of any community or city, North, could not be gotten up that would be so exclusively loyal as was this negro celebration. The reason is obvious. Copperheads, disloyalists and Southern sympathizers you have in your midst. They attend your churches and your Sabbath schools—hence in a similar celebration they would form an integral part. These people, with black skins and woolly heads, have no disloyalists amongst them. Their love for the old flag is genuine, deep, enthusiastic. For this noble spirit they challenge every white Union man's respect and well wishes. They merit our approbation, and we owe them all encouragemept. Why, sir, that flat-nosed, thick-lipped, woolly-headed negro, basking in the sun yonder, is as much superior to the mendacious and perjured rebel, or Copperhead, who would destroy this priceless heritage of ours—though his skin be white, his hair straight, or his lips thin—as pure gold is to dross. I wish that every disloyal Democrat, or Copperhead, might have witnessed this negro celebration of the FOURTH, as I saw it. For, if honest in their hearts, they might have been constrained to admit a few things they continue so stubbornly to refute and deny. They might have been led to feel and admit that the black man, black woman, and black child has feelings, dispositions and sympathies which are common to whites; that he has pride and ambition; and, considering his past limited advantages, *more* than an average amount of common sense. I am no negro-worshipper, but, God willing, to the best of my ability, I shall endeavor to do this helpless, ill-understood, much abused race the justice that is due to them. They have not the means of self-defence; it, therefore, becomes the duty of those who possess the means to come forward and set them right, by disabusing public opinion, which continues, singularly enough, to an extraordinary degree, to remain in the slough of prejudice. For the past year and a half I have had more than common advantages for studying the bent of this much-abused people. I find them to possess prudence, forethought, thrift. Altogether, I stake my whole judgment and veracity upon it, that they are *much better* black people FREE than they are black people SLAVES.

Before the act declaring the negroes of this District free—just three years ago—no such scene as the one indicated was ever witnessed here. Why? Because their owners and masters would not permit them. Being their own owners *now*, they do just what white people—who never were slaves—always have done. But let me observe another fact, as a refutation of a Copperhead prophecy, and which continues still to be a *standing* Copperhead lie. "Free the negroes," prophesied they, and so they assert still, "and you let loose a helpless, idle, degraded class of vagabonds, to become a tax upon the people, and a nuisance to every community." Never was a prophecy so false, so unjust; in a word, never was anything more impious. What are the facts? The war has freed quite half a million—perhaps a million. Is the North overrun? Is even any particular locality overburthened with this race of people—with these freedmen of the South? So far from this being the case, you have undoubtedly less blacks now than before the war, and the people are disappointed, rather than otherwise, that so few come to supply the deficiency caused among the laboring classes by the exigencies of the war. Servants are scarce and wages high. This *complaint* is universal. How many pauper blacks have you had added to your list since this war—which shall free them all—began? I ask any Copperhead to answer me this question. No! the "hateful nigger," as your vaunted Democracy delights to call him, *comes not;* he positively refuses to overrun the North, or to be a tax upon anybody. He stubbornly insists upon showing his innate common sense; he persists in it, and will work for himself—feed and clothe himself. He even appreciates that he needs to be educated to become a better negro than before; so he goes to school, and the facts prove that his aptitude for learning far exceeds the estimate ever set up for him by the most fanatical Abolition enthusiast. What does all this demonstrate? It proves that the white man had prejudices that blinded him as sunlight blinds a bat. He could not see. Realities are stubborn things. The emancipated slave *does not*, and will not, overrun any particular locality or community. The country is, in the first place, too extensive to necessitate that; and, in the next place, the American blacks—even though born and reared slaves—are not the baboons that they have been by too many supposed to be. Being human, they have the peculiar nature of their more favored brethren, the whites; they have the same passions; they love, hate, venerate, and they are capable of showing to an extraordinary degree kindness and benevolence. They are amenable to *our* God, and they worship the same Divine spirit. In this they are the white man's peer, and let us act wisely and justly, lest in the race for Heaven we shall find that by our bigotry and blinded prejudices we have been overleapt in the race for eternal preferment by the object of our contempt and derision.

The enemies of this race, who predicted for them, in their new condition, nothing but squalidness, misery and poverty, should have witnessed the procession of men, women and children—in color "black as night"—that I speak of. They were all well and substantially clad—many of them elegantly and expensively clad. The females were mostly dressed in white—many of the adults in silks—fewest in calicoes or lawns. Leghorn or straw bonnets and hats, gaily and expensively trimmed, decked their heads. White stockings and balmoral shoes covered their legs and feet, and the majority rejoiced in silk sunshades and umbrellas. The males were equally well-dressed. I saw many in patent-leather boots. If their skins had been white and their wool straight hair, any beholder might have taken them to be men and women, and the children of men and women, *who were all more than ordinarily well to do in the world.*

Will we whites never learn to be just? Must we continue to stultify our manhood in the face of such overwhelming proofs? It was said the black man would not fight. Experience and trial proves he will and does fight. It was said he would not work, and that he would overrun the populous North. Experience shows that he does work, and that he will not overrun the North. In the face of this let us be just—rise above our mean and debased prejudices, and accord to this oppressed and much-abused people the meed that is their due. The negro will not only fight for his country, but he will support himself, and not care to become a tax upon the whites.

MYLINN.

THE SISTERS.

I.

They were two sisters. One was fair,
With yellow lights in her wavy hair.

The other was dark, and in her eyes
Lurked the sultry fire of Southern skies.

They both had plains, these sisters two,
Broad in extent and fair to view,

With towns and cities on hill and plain,
And rivers which flowed to greet the main.

The fields of the one with wheat and corn
Swayed in the breath of the wind at morn.

Her sons at the plough and anvil stood,
Or wielded the axe in the shady wood.

She built great ships that over the seas
Sped on the wings of the ocean breeze.

Fleets of these in her ports found room;
Her factories hummed with the busy loom.

There men and women, early and late,
Labored to earn the bread they ate.

Her children flocked to her schools to learn
Knowledge profound and wisdom stern.

In the autumn months she stood in the field
Laden with fruits of the harvest yield.

In granaries built through long years of peace
She gathered the wealth of earth's increase.

And the winds which blew from her snowy hills
Were not more free than her people's wills.

II.

The swelling slopes of the other shone white
With cotton blooms in the hot sun's light.

Under the shade of ancestral trees
Her sons and daughters lived at ease.

Her dusky bondman, stalwart and strong,
Toiled in the field the whole day long.

Hard and sinewy were his hands,
His muscles were like to iron bands.

A modern Samson in strength was he,
Shorn of his glorious liberty.

Sometimes a patient song of toil
Fell from his lips as he tilled the soil.

Sometimes at night his yearning eyes
Turned to a star in the Polar skies.

And a hungry longing for Freedom gave
Wings to the feet of the dusky slave.

But pitiless bloodhounds on his track
With their deep-mouthed bayings drove him back.

In the foul market-place he stood,
The bondman sullen and stern of mood,

And like a chattel was bought and sold—
A human being for so much gold,

Down the river;—afar on its wave;
What are wife and child to the slave?

O God! that such things ever had been,
And gained the sanction of Christian men!

III.

Then rose on the air a sudden cry,
Like thunder rolling along the sky.

From the burning lips of the North it came,
Rebuking her sister's sin and shame.

Stronger the dread tornado blew,
Darker the gathering tempest grew.

In senate chamber and halls of state
Long and loud was the hot debate.

Then the Northern sister called to her side
A man for his prudence noted wide.

But she of the South with fierce replies
Flashed defiance out of her eyes.

Then shouts of "War!" on the winds went forth—
"War!" from the South; "War!" from the North.

The trumpets blew, and the loud drums beat;
The dumb earth quaked with the tread of feet.

To-day the cannon thunder loud;
And yonder see the battle cloud.

To-day earth's altar-steps are red
With precious blood of heroes shed.

Look on those swelling mounds that rise—
These are a nation's SACRIFICE.

May it atone in God's just sight,
And wash our garments snowy white,

And kindle in the East a ray,
The dawn of a broader, purer day!

—*Harper's Magazine for July.*

THE WORST HERESY.

There is one kind of heresy that I dread, and it is alike prevalent in the Church and out of it; perhaps not to the same degree; but it exists in the Church and out of it. The most mortal of all heresies is spiritual indifference. I have no sympathy with men that would as lief believe one thing as another; men that are unconcerned about everything; moral men, that have no regard for spiritual truth. There is one element that I recognize and fraternize with everywhere, and that is moral earnestness. Where a man believes in God, and believes in his own immortality, and strives by his whole life to be more and better, he may be in this fold or in that fold, but his concentrated desire of soul to please his Maker brings him into fellowship with me, and I look upon him, if not as illuminated, yet as on the way to illumination. His face is toward the East, even if his Sun has not risen with healing in his beams. There is nothing that I dread more than that settling of theological questions which takes away all reasoning and all curiosity, that lapsing into spiritual indifference, as though a man had got his hope.

How much do you ask to insure my property? Well, sixty cents on a hundred dollars. I take out a policy, and pay for it, and go home, and show it to my wife, and say, "Now, my dear, we can sleep comfortably, and we can go into the country without anxiety; and if the house burns, it will be all the same to us. We need not care what becomes of it, since we are insured."

A man goes to the minister and says, "What must I do to secure eternal life?" "You must repent," says the minister. So the man cries, and cries, and cries, and feels bad, and feels bad, and feels bad, and feels bad. That is the way he pays for his insurance. By-and-by he feels better, and he asks the minister, "Is that evidence that I have my policy?" "Yes," says the minister, "You have had your bad state, and you have come to your joyful state, and now you have your hope." And the man goes home and says to his wife, "My dear, I have passed from death to life, and, come what may, I am going to be saved. I may wander, to be sure; but I have my evidence, my hope, my insurance."

Oh, is there any heresy comparible with this spiritual indifference and spiritual security? Is there anything more heretical than such a state of unconcern as we now see in the Church and out of the Church? I not only dread it, but I abhor it. And, in the Church or out of the Church, I intensely sympathize with moral sensibility. And if I see it in a man who, though he may be mistaken, is honest with himself, and is striving toward God, I take that man to my heart; and I would take him to my heart if every other man on the globe turned his back upon me for doing it. I take him on account of the life that there is in his conscience and in his soul, and on account of his hunger and thirst after righteousness. He and I may specialize our beliefs differently; but there is a vital point that connects us—and that is moral and not intellectual. And it is on moral ground that the Church and the world are to be united.—*H. W. Beecher, Sermon in The Independent.*

WOMEN WORKING ON THE FARM.—Not long ago a letter from H. C. Wright, was read at a meeting of the Farmers' Club in New York. Mr. Wright was at Pekin, Niagara Co., N. Y. He said:

"I am in the family of Marvin and Paulina Roberts, farmers, with three hundred and fifty acres of land, as good as any in the State. There are eight children—seven daughters and one son, the latter nine years old. They have been on this farm two years..... Their Spring work was begun on the 19th of April, since which time four of the daughters, aged respectively 19, 15, 13, and 11, assisted by a niece aged 17, and by their mother, have accomplished the following labor: *i. e.* plowed 75 acres, dragged 100 acres three times, sowed broadcast 100, and rolled 100. More plowing has been done, but the above amount of labor has been done exclusively by the mother and the five young daughters. They have now growing 45 acres of wheat, 15 of winter and 30 of spring; 50 acres of oats; 30 acres of flax; and are to put in 10 acres of corn, 10 of beans, 8 of carrots, three-fourths of an acre of onions, and 10 acres of potatoes. To-day I saw one of the daughters, aged 13, plowing, holding the plow and driving her own team. During the day she plowed one acre and a half, the usual labor of a day in plowing. Last Saturday I saw two of the girls, one aged 17, the other 15, sowing wheat, broadcast, and the sowing was done as well as as any one would do it. I saw another, aged 13, *dragging*, and another, aged 19, *rolling*, and another piling and burning brush with her father. These daughters have the care of their own teams. One of them, who is 17, is detailed to do the housework this season. She is as good at plowing, sowing, dragging, and rolling as any of them. The house-work is considered by them the hardest and most difficult to perform. They all prefer the out-door farm work.....During the two years over 50 acres have been cleared of bushes, stumps and roots, and this has been done mainly by the mother and daughters. I cannot now enlarge upon the results of this effort of a woman to train her daughters to be practical farmers as to their physical, intellectual, or moral development. These speak for themselves. No one who knows the family, and the facts connected with their efforts to point out the way to woman to an independent, honest, and honorable subsistence, can have any misgivings as to what those results may be. They will be good, and only good. Already the example of this mother and daughters most beneficially affects the region around them."

GEORGE THOMPSON, LL. D.

The usual mediocrity of college honors has been broken up this year by the Wesleyan University, in conferring the degree of LL. D. on this eminent philanthropist, orator, and man of affairs. It relieves the tedium of editorial and private inquisition after the whereabouts and whatabouts of the ordinary recipients of these titles to find one so high that the college exalts itself in placing the laurel upon his brows. Generally even our humblest institutions, in the imposition of their hands, resemble the statues in the cathedral of Mayence, where colossal archbishops are gravely crowning infantile and timid kings. In this case the anointing power has recognized the worth of the anointed. It has crowned itself in crowning him.

There were especial reasons, perhaps, why the degree should come from this source. Dr. George Thompson was by birth and education a Methodist. He was a local preacher in the Wesleyan Society when he first visited America. And though afterward, in consequence of marriage and democratic sympathies, be united with the Independents, still he ever retained a deep regard for the Church that had been one of the leaders in the anti-slavery movements of Great Britain. From the Church of his birth and education came this fitting testimony to his character and career.

The doctor sat upon the platform, unconscious of the impending blow. President Cummings, in conferring it, made even an unknown tongue eloquent with eulogy, and brought down the house in applause as he called him the friend of humanity and of man, the eloquent apostle of liberty, the breaker of chains, the joy of the oppressed—"*humanitatis et hominis amicus, apostolos libertatis eloquens, catenorum ruptor, oppressorum lætitia.*" Smitten by the sudden stroke, the object of the eulogy bowed his head and kept it covered till the ceremonies of the occasion were concluded. How the thoughts must have rushed through his soul then and now! How he must have remembered the time when Church and college alike pursued him with malignant zeal; when in that very city his life was in danger; when everywhere he was branded with opprobrium for daring to lift up his voice for the enslaved! Now, from one of the sources of this persecution, comes the highest recognition it can give to that earliest and all subsequent service. It is the confession of repentance and its meetest work.

Wordsworth's reception of like honors at Oxford, after passing through a similar period of scorn and reproach, is analogous to this. We congratulate this college on its happy selection of a candidate. It is but a step in advance of the hour when not only Abolitionists but those for whom they for many years suffered the loss of all things shall be found in like posts of honor and recipients of like just distinctions. Thus may it become possible to infuse into these usually most withered and worthless laurels the greenness of real life—the recognition of truth, of worth, of principle, of God in man!—*Independent.*

NEW ENGLAND WOMEN'S LEAGUE.

To the Editor of The Boston Journal.

A few weeks since several meetings of ladies were held in Boston to consider the propriety of forming an association to promote such simplicity in dress and living as would be consistent with the sad experiences of a great war, and to discourage the use of foreign luxuries during the unsettled state of our currency. There were some differences of opinion as to the best course to pursue in the matter; but all agreed that it was desirable to take measures for a reform from the extravagant modes of life now so common among us. And all agreed, too, that united action was much to be desired. The result of the meetings was, that the matter was left in charge of a committee of ladies, who, after much deliberation, have decided to open an office as headquarters for all who are interested in the movement. They propose to ask manufacturers and manufacturing companies to furnish samples or descriptions of their goods, which will be on view at their office. They will also invite dealers in American goods to aid them by information in reference to the various wares sold by them. And, in addition, they will circulate throughout New England the subjoined pledge, for the signatures of all loyal women who are willing to strengthen government and the nation by the means therein proposed. They believe the time has come for action, and that the thoughtful women of the country are ready to do this one thing more to bring the war to a speedy and a just conclusion.

They invite all persons interested to visit them at their office, No. 10 Bedford street, for counsel and cooperation. And they beg all who are so disposed to cut the printed pledge from this paper, and affixing to it a blank sheet, collect signatures thereto, and send them to No. 10 Bedford street, where complete lists of names or signers will be open to inspection during office hours: i. e. from 10 till 2 o'clock, daily.

The pledge has hitherto been offered to but a few ladies, some of whose names are herewith printed, as the beginning of a list. Soon we trust to number many thousands, banded together in a new work for the common good.

MRS. J. INGERSOLL BOWDITCH,
MRS. CHARLES G. LORING,
MRS. A. L. STONE,
MRS. J. C. JOHNSON,
MISS ABBY W. MAY,
MISS R. W. PICKERING,
MISS MARY I. NICHOLS,
MISS E. H. BARTOL,
MISS L. R. CLARKE,
MISS J. E. MOTLEY,
Executive Committee.

ADDRESS TO THE WOMEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

In a war like ours, which involves the life and prosperity of a whole nation, every patriotic citizen owes to the country the greatest possible amount of service. The experience of the last three years seems to prove conclusively that this is as true for the women of the land as for the men. Though, in the order of civilization, they are not called to engage actively in the strife, yet theirs is a most important work, limited only by the extent and duration of the war itself.

But, while the great work of soldiers' relief must not be suspended for a moment, the time has come when united action in a new direction seems to be needed. The excess of our imports over our exports has long threatened the most serious consequences—perhaps the financial ruin of our country. Of these imported goods women are very large consumers. Hitherto it has been of small consequence whether the old world or the new manufactured those articles of luxury and elegance with which women have adorned their houses and themselves. But that time is past. The humanity and Christianity of the age demand a speedy and a righteous termination of the war. To effect this every energy must be brought to bear in one direction; and women's dress can no longer be regarded as a matter of taste merely—it takes its place to-day on the plane of lofty patriotism, side by side with the great questions of the time.

Fellow country-women, is it not so? We ask you to give the matter your most earnest consideration. Permit us to cite a few figures and facts. The value of our exports for the year ending June 30, 1861, was $228,699,486. The value of our imports, for the same period, was $286,598,135. Leaving a balance against us of $57,898,649. The balance must be paid in gold, at whatever cost of premium. In that year, some of the items of import were, in round numbers, as follows:

Manufactures of silk	$23,000,000
Laces and embroideries	4,000,000
Jewelry and plate	1,700,000
Dolls and toys	400,000
Feathers and flowers	600,000
Hats and bonnets	1,100,000
Cotton goods, including trimmings, thread and piece goods	17,000,000
Soap, perfumed and other	100,000
Wool and worsted, manufactured	25,000,000
	$72,900,000

Of these articles, women are by far the largest consumers. Shall we stop the demand for them, and add an annual power of seventy-two millions of dollars—at the present price of gold, more than one hundred and fifty millions—to the strength of our country, in this time of trial?

But it is said, perhaps, "in diminishing importation, we diminish the government revenue." In answer to this, we would quote from a letter of Messrs. Hooper and Rice upon the subject. They say: "As every dollar added to the revenue by the duty on importations involves an expenditure of more than two dollars for the cost of the article abroad, the national wealth will be increased by any reduction of revenue from that source. Whether the effect would be inconsiderable or not, would, of course, depend on the extent to which the movement would be carried. We have no hesitation in saying, that just so far as our people abstain from the use of imported luxuries, they are discouraging habits of extravagance in dress and living, stimulating American industry and skill in many departments, diminishing the foreign debt, and increasing the ability of the country to meet the expenditures of the war."

But it is not the government alone which will be benefited by such action on the part of the women of the country. Every poor man in the land will rejoice in reduced prices for the necessaries of life, now kept so high chiefly by the high price of gold. Every soldier's widow and orphan child will have cause to bless us for this new proof of our sincere determination to do our share in behalf of our country, in support of her living defenders, and in memory of her glorious dead. Shall we withhold such aid and sympathy? There is much hard work to be done before the war can be ended. To hasten, as far as possible, the desired consummation, requires the united energy of all loyal citizens.

We ask the men of the land to fight bravely—we pity and despise any shrinking on their part. Do we not owe it to them to offset their bitter sacrifices with our own easier ones? We admire the spirit of other women of other times who have laid all their possessions on their country's altar. Shall we not imitate as well as admire?

Impressed with the importance of lending our aid to prevent the trouble that is sure to come to a country drained of its specie, and desiring to prepare, by a wise simplicity of living, for whatever trials may be in store, we ask the women of New England to unite with us in a pledge for increased devotion to the duties of the hour.

And to this end, let us use our whole influence, and every endeavor, believing that mankind must approve, and that God will bless.

NEW ENGLAND WOMEN'S LEAGUE, FOR DIMINISHING THE USE OF LUXURIES DURING THE WAR.

BOSTON, July 4, 1864.

We, the undersigned, women of the United States, impelled by a deep sense of the peril of our beloved country, and of the sacrifices and sufferings of our brave soldiers, yet abating not a jot of our assurance that God will give success to our righteous cause, providing the people do their duty—would here express our purpose to perform our part toward bringing about this great end, and our desire to contribute more largely to the strength of our armies, and the relief of the suffering throughout our land.

We do, therefore, pledge ourselves, during the war,

1. To retrench our expenditure in dress, in the household, in social entertainments, and in all luxuries.

2. Without renouncing such foreign articles as we deem necessary for health and comfort, yet, to give the preference to the products and manufactures of our own country.

Mrs. Charles G. Loring,	Mrs. Charles E. Guild,
Mrs. Benj. Guild,	Mrs. Walter Baker,
Mrs. Theodore Lyman,	Mrs. C. F. Knight,
Mrs. G. Howland Shaw,	Mrs. James C. White,
Mrs. S. Cabot,	Mrs. J. C. Johnson,
Mrs. S. Cabot, Jr.,	Miss Ellen Jackson,
Mrs. Chas. R. Lowell,	Mrs. H. L. Chapin,
Mrs. Epes S. Dixwell,	Miss Barb. H. Channing,
Mrs. James F. Clarke,	Mrs. James T. Fields,
Mrs. Samuel May,	Mrs. Edward F. Taylor,
Mrs. James Houghton,	Miss M. Wigglesworth,
Mrs. R. B. Storer,	Miss A. Wigglesworth,
Mrs. Frederick Tudor,	Mrs. H. Lee, Jr.,
Mrs. H. Beecher Stowe,	Mrs. Peleg Sprague,
Mrs. Julia Ward Howe,	Mrs. Asa Gray,
Mrs. C. A. Bartol,	Miss D. J. Tudor,
Mrs. Andrew L. Stone,	Miss E. Tudor,
Mrs. J. I. Bowditch,	Miss Mary G. Loring,
Miss Sarah Clarke,	Miss G. M. Stowe,
Mrs. Edwin P. Whipple,	Miss E. T. Stowe,
Miss Anna C. Lowell,	Miss Lilla Abbott,
Mrs. Wm. J. Loring,	Miss A. M. Houghton,
Mrs. Henry B. Rogers,	Miss Fanny L. Gray,
Mrs. S. M. Eckley,	Miss A. P. Rogers,
Mrs. J. Clinton Hooker,	Miss Abby W. May,
Mrs. J. Eliott Cabot,	Miss M. P. Nichols,
Mrs. H. W. Pickering,	Miss R. W. Pickering
Mrs. Abner Kingman,	Miss L. H. Clarke,
Mrs. C. H. Dall,	

THE MILITARY DRAFT.

From Friends' Review.

Most of our readers are probably aware that the President has ordered a draft to be made for such portion of five hundred thousand men as shall remain unfilled by volunteers for military service on the 5th of Ninth month next. This draft is to take place under the new Enrolment act, approved on the 4th instant, and it is a remarkable fact, calling for great thankfulness on the part of the Friends, that while this law declares that "no payment of money shall be accepted or received by the government as commutation to release any enroled or drafted man from personal obligation to perform military service," it has a section specially providing that nothing contained in this act shall be construed to alter or in any way affect the law passed on the 19th, and approved on the 24th of Second month last, by which members of religious denominations conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, are considered non-combatants, and relieved from military service.

It is true that in thus relieving Friends from bearing arms the government has not relinquished its claim upon them for the performance of such duties as they can discharge without infringing upon their principles of peace, but it directs that those who may be drafted "shall be assigned by the Secretary of War to duty in the hospitals or to the care of freedmen, or shall pay the sum of three hundred dollars, to be applied to the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers."

It is understood that the Secretary of War, recognizing the scruples of Friends against acting as surgeons or nurses in military hospitals, and knowing how earnestly they are engaged in promoting the welfare of the freed-people, will take care to assign them to positions which shall not interfere with their religous principles.

Friends have officially declared in various memorials presented to Congress by several Meetings for Sufferings, that "they ask for no relief from their share of its [the government's] burdens, but are always ready to sustain it in every way that does not prevent the exercise of the rights of conscience"; that "we do not wish, especially in this day of trial, to shrink from any of the duties of faithful citizenship which do not contravene the paramount law of Christ," and that "it is our duty to sustain [civil government] by all the influence we may be able to exert both by word and deed, subject to the paramount law of Christ; and in this day of fearful strife, when so many of our fellow-citizens are brought into suffering, we have no desire to shrink from the discharge of all our duty, nor from contributing to the relief of distress by every means in our power." If there be any meaning in these declarations, they may surely be considered as fully acknowledging the right of the government to call upon Friends to perform their share of its burdens in any way that does not violate their right of conscience. We presume few of our members can be found who are unwilling to aid in the care of the freed-people, or, to a certain extent, in the relief of the sick and wounded. Are we, then, released from these duties by the fact that we are excused from military service? Or does the government relinquish its rightful claim upon us for services which accord with our religious principles because it recognizes our rights of conscience; classes us as non-combatants, and releases us from bearing arms? We cannot but regard it as a mistaken view of the subject, to look upon the service substituted for arms-bearing as a penalty or as a purchase of religious liberty.

Our early Friends, because Christ forbids all swearing, refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, but they subscribed the declarations of fidelity and Christian faith, which were substituted for the oaths by Parliament. They did not regard this substitution as a violation of the rights of conscience, or as a purchase of exemption from oath-taking; but, says Sewel, "by this we now see the religion of the Quakers acknowledged and tolerated by an act Parliament."

Again, when in 1696, confirmed, altered and extended in 1715, a grant was obtained of an affirmation instead of an oath, in courts of justice and other places, although some Friends hesitated to accept it, yet the Society, as a body, gratefully received it, and in the London Epistle of 1716 thus expressed their gratitude: "The Lord our God, who, for the sake of his heritage, hath often heretofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the sea, hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dispersed the cloud threatening a storm, which lately seemed to hang over us; which, together with the favor God hath given us in the eyes of the King and the government, for the free enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, call for true thankfulness to Him. And to humbly pray to Almighty God for the King and those in authority, for his and their safety and defence, is certainly our Christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively as a grateful people."

Is not a similar expression of gratitude now due from the Society of Friends in this country to the Great Disposer of events; and of grateful acknowledgment for the kindness and favor shown by the President, the Secretary of War, and Congress, in granting them religious liberty and immunity from suffering in the midst of a great war.

THE LATE MR. WASHINGTON WILKS.

EMANCIPATION SOCIETY—OFFICES, 65 FLEET ST., LONDON, E. C., 5th July, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: You will doubtless have heard of the sudden and lamented death of Mr. Washington Wilks, the eloquent and uncompromising advocate of every just cause. You have heard of his labors in behalf of America. He loved your country as though it had been his own—he served the Federal cause with a devotion which has never been surpassed. You, perhaps, can form some estimate of his public labors, but only a person in my position can really judge of their priceless value. No soldier, brought face to face with the enemy on Virginia's soil, could have fought with more heroism or in a greater spirit of self-sacrifice against the emissaries of the Southern slavocracy. The greatest desire of his life was to visit the United States, and to become personally acquainted with a people whom he regarded as his kinsmen and fellow-citizens, in a noble and peculiar sense. But that high privilege has been denied him; and the grave now contains all that remains on earth of the gifted orator and journalist. The name of America was the last word that passed his lips. On the fatal night, he had just commenced to review the public conduct of the members for Marylebone, one of whom he censured for his advocacy of the laws of primogeniture, while the other he rebuked for his hostility to "the great American Republic." He had scarcely uttered these words, when he fell back, and in a few moments had ceased to breathe. He is now beyond the influence of human praise or blame; but some portion of the debt of gratitude which Americans, as well as Englishmen, owed to him may be paid to his necessitous family. The following document, published in this day's *Morning Star*, speaks for itself:

"THE LATE MR. WASHINGTON WILKS.

THE TESTIMONIAL FUND.

Committee.

R. Cobden, Esq., M. P.
P. A. Taylor, Esq., M. P.
Samuel Lucas, Esq.
William Hargreaves, Esq